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I, 2. A CHAPTER OF SANTAL FOLKLORE

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## A CHAPTER OF SANTAL FOLKLORE

BY

P. O. BODDING

A discussion of the different questions of folkloristic and ethnological nature which would naturally present themselves in connection with the tales and stories here edited and translated will find its proper place when my collections have been published in their entirety. Here, therefore, only a few introductory remarks.

The present writer received, whilst still a child, his first introduction to folk-tales through an old nurse; the interest thus awakened has followed him ever since, and he took it with him out to India now nearly thirty-four years ago. I had not been among the Santals many months, before I heard of and also commenced to collect folk-tales of theirs. The first one to tell me any such was a young man who had heard some tales from his mother and grandmother. When I came to Mohulpahari, my present home in India, I got some more tales from an elderly Santal *guru*, named PHAGU from the village of Dhaka, near Mohulpahari, the same man who has furnished the songs printed in the book 'The Traditions and Institutions of the Santals' (in Santali, taken down by the late Mr. SKREFSRUD from the dictation of Kolean *guru*, 2nd edition, Benagaria, 1916, edited by the present writer), and who also dictated to me a much more circumstantial version of the traditions than that found in the book mentioned.

It did not, however, take long before I understood that it would require more time than I had at my disposal to take down the stories, the more so as I soon found out that here were materials for a large collection, and I naturally wanted to collect as much as possible. There was another consideration which weighed much with me: I tried to be accurate, but there was always the possibility that the tales might be more or less tainted by passing through a European brain, both as to language and as to contents. It would be very much preferable to get the tales written down by a Santal.

It so happened about a year after my arrival at Mohulpahari that I had a man, SAGRAM MURMU by name, sent to me to be a helper in my work in connection with the Santali language. I soon discovered that this man had a natural ability of writing his own language. He was consequently asked to write down all stories he knew, and whenever I heard of a fresh story, the person in question was asked to tell it to him, and he wrote it down.

It was a private arrangement between us. He used his leisure hours to write, and was paid per page by me. It led to his hunting up people of whom he heard that they might have stories to tell. His writing had also another result. When people heard that there

was a market for such, some persons who could do so wrote down stories they knew and brought them. One who did this was the young man first mentioned above, who in the meantime had been appointed postmaster at Mohulpahari. Another one was his wife.

In the course of time the collection has grown to quite a small library. How many folk-tales there may be in my collection, I have not counted. It is large.

The majority of the tales have been written by the above mentioned Sagram Murmu, who hails from a village in the Godda Subdivision of the Santal Parganas district, Bihar. When no remark is made, it is to be understood that he is the writer. Tales put on paper by others have a note to show who has written them.

Sagram Murmu came to Mohulpahari in the early part of 1892, and has remained there ever since, his special work having been to be one of my 'living dictionaries'. He has passed what in our parts of India is called the Lower Primary examination in Hindi — it amounts to very little. What he else knows, he has picked up himself. This is just mentioned to show that he has not been long enough in school to get his language 'educated'. He is a Santal from the village, the genuine article, well acquainted with the customs, ideas, and superstitions of his own people, now old, well up in the sixties, looking just the picture of a folk-tale teller. He has a tendency towards 'preaching' and moralizing, and may be somewhat headstrong. This does not, however, affect his tales, except that he now and then furnishes them with a 'tail' giving vent to his own opinions.

The tales are, as will be understood, written in genuine Santali, without any attempt at polishing, only obvious errors or slips of the pen having been corrected. Before the missionaries came, the Santals had no written language. What they had of 'literature' was all stowed away in their memory. Incantations, songs and certain other matters are in a stereotype form, often such as not to be always properly understood by the present generation. This is not the case with the folk-tales, where, within certain limits, there is full freedom for the narrator. The language of these may consequently vary as to individual form and expression. There is no literary style. Santali has not like some other Indian languages, as e. g. Bengali, a high or literary form, a colloquial and a vulgar form. The language of these tales is just as the people speak.

The translation is literal, as far as compatible with good sense, one reason for such literality being that the idiom of a language often throws light on the mentality of the people. The object of editing these tales and stories is not to tell interesting tales, but to give those who study folklore genuine and reliable material.

The translation has been supplied with a number of explanatory notes, where it seemed necessary or desirable. In several cases the Santali word or a commonly used word from another Indian language has been used, to avoid long explanations or paraphrases. Such have been explained in the notes. A number of notes giving ethnological information has also been added, in the hope that they will help the reader to appreciate certain details.

The Santali text will furnish excellent material for the study of the Santali language, which is of considerable interest in several respects.

— There are a few things more to be mentioned.

These tales are the property of the Santals. Many of them are undoubtedly autochthonous, some may be the common property of the Santals and other neighbouring races, and it may at the present time be impossible to decide whose property they originally were. A number may have been acquired from other peoples who live among the Santals, often in the same villages, from people whom they daily meet.

I do not at the moment remember any stories borrowed from Mohammedan sources; if there are such, they are very few. The Santals seem to look upon the Mohammedans as people quite different from themselves, and with distrust. The above mentioned Kolean *guru* says in one place in the printed traditions: "More than all other races we resent and abhor the *turuk*." Now *turuk* in Santali really means the Mussulman cavalry, of which the Santals had experience in former days. Here the word is used in such a way that it seems to include people of that persuasion also.

Those from whom they have adopted stories are Hindus of all sorts, generally low caste. With these they have much in common. From literary sources I do not think any Santal tales have been borrowed, the only exceptions being Æsop's fables, acquired through schoolbooks, and not by any means common property. I might just mention that I have, among the tales, a Santali version of the Ramayana, very likely the result of Santals seeing a puppet show, and listening to the stories told by the showman.

It is generally not difficult to tell at once whether it is an originally borrowed tale or not. However this may be, the stories are all in Santali garb, and adapted to Santal customs and Santal ideas, just as when a foreign word is adopted by the language: it has to be adapted to and made conform with the demands of the phonetic laws of the language.

It should be noted that the tales always move in a Santal world, and are exponents of the Santal mode of living, speaking and thinking. Many of the tales are good pictures of life, such as is met with in the Santal villages and homes. In this way they furnish true material for learning to know the people.

To the Santals the stories represent several things. They may be intended to amuse, to explain, e.g. natural phenomena or strange matters, to teach, to point a moral, to give an explanation or perhaps an excuse for doing or omitting to do something, &c.

According to their contents, they are told or recited on different occasions. An old mother, a grandmother, an aunt or other elderly person may tell stories they know to the children, just like we ourselves in our childhood heard stories from our old nurses.

I have, however, an impression that most of these stories are more the property of men than of women.

When Santals sit together without having anything special to do, somebody may start telling a story, or somebody may ask for such a one. Some one of the party may ask about something. This reminds another of an incident of a story, which is mentioned, and a third asks whether they have not heard this. After some talking, one man will commence to tell. I have happened to be present on such occasions. Likely most of them, if not all, have heard the tale, or know it. As the narrator proceeds, he is again and again interrupted by acclamations of approval, grunts of satisfaction and enjoyment, and the like. Then the narrator may not be quite sure as to some details, and somebody offers the correct rendering, or there may come corrections from one or more of the party, who believe themselves to know certain particulars better. They are all of them in it. It is very amusing to be present and listen.

If a Santal is asked when these tales are told, he will nearly always say it is when they watch on the threshing floor. When the rains are over and the Santals commence reaping their paddy, the sheaves are carried to the threshing floor, a small bit of levelled ground, beaten hard and plastered with cow-dung, on a higher level than the rice fields, but generally not far away from them, to obviate too much trouble in carrying the sheaves. During the harvest time people often live more on the threshing floor than in their homes. In a corner a booth is always erected, a few slender poles put up against each other, the whole covered with straw, having a tiny opening at the floor. Here people live for days and weeks. Thieves lurk about at this time, and it is necessary to watch the stacks of sheaves on the threshing floor, and also so far as possible the adjoining unreaped paddy-fields. Generally several families have their threshing floors in one place, close to each other. So they watch together, and to keep awake and pass the long hours of night, they have to resort to different devices; one of these is to tell folk-tales. They enjoy them, and see them enacted, so to say, before their mental vision.

✓ Folk-tales belong to a special period of cultural development; they presuppose and demand a certain state of mentality, when the critical powers are not as yet sufficiently developed to prevent certain flights of imagination or the enjoyment of obvious impossibilities. Like so many other peoples, the Santals are passing from the stage where folk-tales can exist. I may not be right, but I am under the impression that many of the folk-tales collected by myself are getting out of use and being lost. I do not think it would be possible at the present day to trace all those that have been secured for my collection. The vast majority of them was collected during my first twenty years in India. By that time, the Santal supply had been more or less drained. Still it happens, even now, that a new story is heard; but it is very seldom.

p. t. Løken, Heradsbygd, Norway, 17th July 1923.

*P. O. Boddington.*

As to the pronunciation of the letters used in writing Santali, the following may be noted:

The system followed is very much the same as that recommended by the ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY for transliteration of Indian languages, with a few exceptions and some additions, made necessary by Santali having some sounds peculiar to itself.

The vowels, when without diacritical marks, are pronounced very much as in Norwegian: a (mbw) like *a* in *father*, — e (mfn or mfw) like *e* in Norw. *se* or Engl. *men*, — i (lfn or hfw) like *i* in Norw. *mine* or Engl. *bit*, — o (mbnr or mbwr) like *o* in Norw. *stor* or *sort*, — u (hbnr or hbwr or hmnr) like *ou* in French *tour*, or *u* in Engl. *put* and Norw. *hus*.

Vowels with a dash below are the open vowel sounds, as against the unmarked close sound: ɛ (lfn or lfw) like the sound in Engl. *air*, *fat*, — ɔ (lbnr or lbwr or lmn) like the sound in Engl. *law*, *not*, or Norw. *monne*. In suffixes, postpositions and personal pronouns, the open ɛ and ɔ sounds are not marked.

Vowels with a dot below are peculiar Santali sounds, tentatively called resultant. Only two are used here, ą and ɔ̇: ą is, to an untrained ear, something between Engl. *but* and *hat*, — ɔ̇ is a modified mbnr sound.

All vowels may be long or short.

All vowels may be nasalized; this is shown by the circumflex ^ above the vowel; cf. the French pronunciation of e.g. *dans*, *ancien*, *bon*.

With reference to the consonants, it should be noted that all stops are either unaspirated or fully aspirated (this shown by *h*, written after the stop consonant).

With this reservation, the velars are pronounced as in English.

g is always like *g* in Engl. *garb*, *get*, not like *g* in *gentle*, — ŋ is the velar nasal, like *ng* in Engl. *song*, — k is the checked consonant *k* without its offglide.

The palatals may be compared to the corresponding Italian sounds.

c and j are palatals, not compound sounds, in so far differing from Engl. *ch* and soft *g*.

ñ is the palatal nasal, pronounced something like Spanish *ñ*.

y is never a vowel as in Scandinavian languages, but always the open medio-palatal fricative sound, something like *j* in e.g. Danish *ja*, or *veje*.

č is the checked consonant *c* without its offglide.

The cacuminals are all pronounced with inverted tongue-tip; they are written like the corresponding dentals, with a dot below:

ɽ is like *rt* in Norw. dial. *bort*, — ɽ̇ is like *rd* in Norw. dial. *gjorde*, — ɽ̇̇ is like *rdn* in Norw. dial. *tordne*, — ɽ̇̇̇ is like the so-called thick *l* in Norw. dial. *sol*, *ola*, *jord*.

The dentals are pure dentals, not supradentals; pronounced very much like the corresponding letters in Italian.

ɸ is the checked consonant *t* without its offglide.

The stopped labials are pronounced very much like the corresponding Engl. sounds, excepting that, as remarked above, the unaspirated letters are unaspirated.

The open labials are like the corresponding English sounds *v* and *w*.

ɸ̇ is the checked consonant *p* without its offglide.

The sibilant is always pure dental voiceless, like *s* in Engl. *sink*.

The checked consonants, of which Santali has four, are written as the corresponding full consonant with an apostrophe.

For a full description of the Santali sounds and pronunciation the reader is referred to the writer's book 'Materials for a Santali Grammar I. Mostly phonetic.' Dumka 1922.



## BONGA TULUÇ BAPLA AKAN HỌR REAN KAHNIKO

### 1. Kađa gupi kođa rean

Sedae jokhen, kathae, mitan kođa kađae gupi kan tahēkana, adō din hilokge ađi ninda aneć kađae aderkōa.

Adō kathae, mit din dō ayup siŋgar jokheć oṛakte kađae laga aguyetko tahēkana. Adō en hilokge mit hoṛko husitkadea; uni dō kuṛi boŋgae tahēkana. Adō uni boŋga doko idikedete dōbaṭiare hesak dare tahēkana; oṇdege kiriakedete binidako emadete ona hesak dareregeko khil jalatkadea. Adō en hilok ayup siŋgarge uni kođa dō, kathae, ona dōbaṭia hesak dare sentegeye aguyetko tahēkana. Adō uni kuṛi dō ona hesak dare jalatregeye teŋgo akane helkadea. Khange uni kođa dōe bujhaṛketa, nui kuṛi dō oka khon cōe at hećakan, ar baŋkhane usaćakana; onka monreye hudisketa. Adō sen sorkate bae kulikadea, Henda peṛa, okaren kanam?

Adō uni kuṛiye menketa, Ađi saŋginren kana, peṛa.

Adō uni koṛae menketa ać monre, Jāhāren kangeye, engateŋ bađha idikaea; noa dare buṭare dō cedako tahena? Ale oṛakteŋ idikaea, eṇde tahē aŋgakate adōe jāhā senokge. Onka monre bujhaṛ barakate uni kuṛiye metadea, Henda peṛa, at hećakana sem ceta? Ar baŋkhan dela inin bađha idikama.

Adō uni kuṛiye menketa, Hē, peṛa, entem bađha idin khan don senkoka.

Henda peṛa, entem oka atoren kana? Ma thikte laiaŋme; inā doko kulin khan, in hō inageŋ laia, ar baŋkhan aṛi dō okarenin laia?

<sup>1</sup> *Boŋga* is the Santali name for a spirit or a godling, considered evil or anyhow dangerous by the Santals. Besides the bongas regularly worshipped, a large number is supposed to live in the hills, in rivers, trees, pits, &c., both male and female. The Santals believe that bongas, more frequently female ones, may be married to or have sexual intercourse with human beings.

<sup>2</sup> The pipol tree is *Ficus religiosa*, L. The common Bengali or Hindi name is used here. Even among the Santals it is considered as something special, it being held to be of use also in the world to come. This is likely due to foreign influence; they do not otherwise consider the tree sacred. The witches are reported to travel through the air on these trees, just as their European sisters ride on broomsticks.

<sup>3</sup> It is very common with young girls to sulk, 'furte' as it is called in Norwegian. It is an ordinary thing with young wives, who run away from their husbands.

<sup>4</sup> Friend is a term used by Santals when addressing strangers, specially when meeting such on the way and deeming them Santals.

## STORIES OF SANTALS MARRIED TO PEOPLE OF THE NETHERWORLD

### 1. THE YOUNG MAN AND THE BONGA<sup>1</sup> GIRL

ONCE upon a time long ago, it is told, a young man was occupied herding buffaloes. It was his habit to bring the buffaloes home only when it was late night.

So it came to pass that he one day at nightfall was driving the buffaloes home. Now that same day the people had exorcized a certain man there, and the spirit they had expelled was a female bonga. They had taken this bonga to a junction of two ways where a pipol<sup>2</sup> tree was standing; here they had adjured her, given her a gift of dismissal, and then fastened her to that pipol tree. As told, it happened at nightfall that very day that this young man was driving his cattle towards this pipol tree standing at the crossway. He caught sight of the girl standing up against the pipol tree. The young man said to himself: this girl has lost her way and has come here from somewhere, or otherwise she is in the dumps<sup>3</sup>. So he reasoned in his mind. What was then more natural for him than to go up to her and ask her: "Well, friend<sup>4</sup>, wherefrom are you?"

The girl answered: "I am from very far away, friend."

The young man then said to himself: "She may be from anywhere; dash it<sup>5</sup>, I shall take her along. Why should she remain here under this tree? I shall take her to our house, then she may stay there until dawn and so go wherever she likes." So he was thinking in his mind and spoke to the girl: "Look here, friend, have you lost yourself coming here, or how? Otherwise come along, I shall take you with me."

"Yes, friend," the girl said, "if you take me along I shall go."

"Look here, friend, from which village are you then? Tell me that correctly. When they ask me about this, I shall tell them what you say. Else how should I tell wherefrom you are, at random?"

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<sup>5</sup> The Santals do not swear in our sense of the word. They have, however, a number of expletives, more or less extensively used. They are not considered high language, and many object to their use. Others are so inured to them that they, if they do not have them, feel their language 'tailless', as they express themselves. All these expletives generally refer to the human anatomy. The word here employed has been so often used so as to have lost all meaning. I have not heard a Santal being able to explain what it really is. Originally it may have meant something like 'by the female principle', 'by the mother'.

Ado kathae, mitṭaṇ atoe laiketā, baṇmaṇ phalna atoren kana. Ado uni koṛae meṇketa. Acha bogege; ado jāhā leka ṇaṇamko heḍlen khan dōle laiakoa, ale ṭhen menaea mente. Eṇḍekhan cedak nonḍe dōm tahena? Dela ale oṛakteṇ idikama; aṅgalen khan ado jāhā sengem calak, oṇtege calakme.

Ado uni kuṛiye meṇketa, Hē, entem idiṇ khan dōṇ calaka, ar baṇkhan neṇḍegeṇ tahē aṅgaka.

Ado uni koṛae meṇketa, Dela ente, khusitem calak khan dōṇ idimea, ar jōmoṭkate dō ohoṇ idilema.

Ado uni kuṛiye meṇketa, Acha, khusiteṇ calaka; meṇkhan iṇ metam kana, noa ti jaṅgare jaṇumteṇ rampha akana, ona chaḍaokaṇme.

Ado chaḍaokadea. Ado kathae, tin haḍiē unkinkin galmarao kaṇ tahēkan, un haḍiē kaḍa doko teṅgo thir akan tahēkangea. Ado uniye chaḍaokede khan, ado kaḍaḱin lagaketkoa. Ado laga idiketko khan divheko jereṭ oḍokketa kaḍa tolko laḡit. Ado unreko kulikedeā, Henda ya, nui dō oḱoeyem aḡukedeā? Ar uni kuṛi dō racaregeye teṅgoakana, ar uni koṛa dō goṛateye bōloyente kaḍae tolketkoa. Ado oḍokkate arhōko kuliyede kana; Henda ya, oḱoeyem aḡukedeā, baḥu sē oḱoe?

Ado metaṭkoa, Mitṭaṇ peṛa hoṛ kanae, hante khon iṇ baḍha aḡuakadea.

Adoko bujhaṇketa, nui dō baḥugeye aḡu akadea. Ado piṇḍare maḱiko belketṭeko hoḥodea, Dela māi, nonḍe piṇḍate hijukme. Ado piṇḍateye rakapente maḱireye duṛupena. Ado uni kuṛiko kuliyede kana, Henda māi, am dōm okaren kana?

Ado uni kuṛiye meṇketa, Hana phalna atoren kanaṇ.

Ado okatem calaka?

Ado uni kuṛiye meṇketa, Iṇ dō usaṭ iṇ heḱakana, jāhātege mēṭ lutur oṇteṇ calaka; ado kaḍa aḡuko jōkheṇ hoṛreye ṇamkidiṇteye metadiṇa, Dela ale oṛakteṇ idimea.

Ado arhō uni koṛako kulikedeā, Henda ya, ma laime, baḥu kanae sē baṇ?

Ado uni koṛae meṇketa, Baḥu dōe baṇ kana; ado nitōk kaḍa aḡuko jōkheṇ ona dōḇaṭia hesak dare ṭhene japak akan tahēkana. Adoṇ ṇelkede khan iṇ kulikedeā, Henda peṛam okaren kana? Atakana sem usaṭ hoṛ kana? Cedak am eskar nonḍem tahena? Hoṛ hoṇon kangeam? Delaṇ idi toramea; ale oṛakre gitiē aṅgakme, ado setaklen khan, jāhā sengem calak. Onka meṇkateṇ aḡu dara akadea.

Ado eṇeko thir baṛayena; kedok dakako isiṇketṭeko jōm baṛaketa, uni kuṛi hōko emadegea. Ado parkomkoko ader baṛaketa, ar uni kuṛi dō paṭiaḱo beladea; ado eṇeko gitiē aṅgayena.

<sup>6</sup> Branches of trees with strong thorns are commonly used for fencing or blocking the way. A bonga may, it seems, acc. to their ideas, be shut up with the help of thorns. The thorn-trees most commonly found and used are the *Zizyphus Jujuba*, LAM., and the *Zizyphus oxyphylla*, EDGEE.

The exorcizing here above referred to is a very complicated and expensive affair. The bonga is not supposed to be seen, but to have taken possession of a man, who acts on behalf of the bonga. It is ordinarily only the *kisṛ* bonga, a hobgoblin, very much resembling the Norwegian 'nisse', which is exorcized. What is here thought of, is not quite clear. It seems as if the bonga is supposed to have taken visible shape.

<sup>7</sup> A mat is often used in lieu of a bedstead. To lie on a mat spread on the ground may imply sexual abstinence.

So she named a village, saying: "I am from such and such a village." The young man then said: "Well, that is all right; if now by any chance people should come searching for you, we shall tell them she is here. Why should you remain here? Come, I shall take you along to our house. Then to-morrow morning, if you want to go anywhere, go there."

"Yes," the girl answered, "if you take me along, I shall go, otherwise I shall remain here until dawn."

"Well then," the young man said, "if you come of your own free will, I shall take you with me. Against your will I should never take you away."

The girl then said: "Well, I shall come with pleasure; but I tell you my hands and feet are blocked up with thorns<sup>6</sup>; release me from those."

So he set her free. Now all the time they were talking together the buffaloes had been standing quiet. When he had set her free, they drove the buffaloes along; when they reached the house, the people lighted a lamp and brought that out to see to tie up the buffaloes. Then they asked him: "Look here, boy, who is this whom you have brought with you?" The girl was standing in the courtyard, whilst the young man went into the cattle-shed and tied the buffaloes up. When he came out again, they asked him once more: "Look here, laddie, whom have you brought? Is it a wife or what is it?"

"It is a friend," he answered, "I have brought her along from over there where I found her."

They consequently thought that he had brought the girl to be his wife. Thereupon they placed a stool on the veranda and called out to her: "Please, my girl, come here to the veranda." She then went up to the veranda and sat down on the stool, whereupon they commenced to question her: "Look here, my girl, which place do you belong to?"

"I am from such and such a distant village," the girl answered.

"And where are you going to?"

The girl then said: "I am in the dumps and have come to go in whatever direction my eyes and ears will take me. So when he was taking the buffaloes along, he found me on the way and said to me: Come along, I shall take you to our house."

Hereupon they once more asked the young man: "Look here, you boy, tell whether she is your wife or not."

"No," the young man answered, "she is not my wife. When I was driving the buffaloes along, she was leaning up against the pipol tree at the crossway. When I saw her, I asked her: Well, friend, wherefrom are you? Have you lost your way or are you in the dumps? Why do you remain here alone by yourself? Are you a Santal? Come, I shall take you with me; stay in our house for the night, then, as soon as it is morning, you may go wherever you like. Having said this I brought her with me."

After this nothing more was said. The evening meal was prepared, and they had supper, they also gave the girl to eat. Thereupon they took the bedsteads in and spread a mat<sup>7</sup> for the girl, and so they passed the night.

Ado dosar hilok setak khangé uni kuṛi dō gurić khaclake sap gotkette gurić har gorateye bōlo gotena; ado ona giḍi cabakate racakoe jokketa, dakkoe lo aguketa. Adoko meneta, Ayo, nui kuṛi dō heć caltege behaje kami kan! Ceť leka cōn katha menaktakin. Ar uni hōko beṅgetae kana, khub mōñjgeye nēlok kana. Ado uni koṛaren engat apatkin cepetena, Ma nui kuṛi dō abongebon dōhoyea, babon sen ocoaea. Ado sari ini koṛa nutumtege bahu menteko dōhokedeā. Ado dosar hilok ayup khon dō miť parkomre gitićko hukumatkina. Ado en hilok khon dō mitrekin gitićena, ado siť beohar lekakin kamiketa, miť monenakin.

Ado uni kuṛiye meneta, uni koṛae metae kana, 'Ia nit dō alań dolań hařam buđhiyena; miť din lağıť dō bań, jug jug bhuńjau lağıťge jańić ayo babateko dōhō jurikatlańa. Ado miť katha kiriakateń metam kana, bhalam dōhoetińa se bań? Judim dōhoetiń khan, am then in tahena, ar bańkhan am then dō ohoń tahēlena. Heo tolkate dō ođokok hō ađi moskila. Onate nitregeń metam kana, judim dōhoetiń khan in roṛa ar bańkhan bań.

Adoē metadea, Ma ente roṛlem ceť katha kana.

Ado uni kuṛiye menketa, Katha dō noa kana: jāhān karōnte gharōńjre enga apa, se boko boeha, se hařam buđhi, jotogebon jhograkgea, alań hō hapen jāhān karōntelań jhograkgea, kam kaj daete cōn ceť daete cōn, ape herel hōpon oka dō hańđi nū bulkate ađipe rukhetgea, dal hōpe dadalgea; ado onate nitre am in laĩam kantalańa, jāhānaklań kaphariu jokhenem daleń, sem kuhaiń, sem humagiń, onako dō jotogeń sahaonetama, menkhan niā jańgateak dō ohoń sahaoletama; inatet in manakam kana; lekbeť, se thaķya, se kokolsa jańgate dō alom thayā lebedińa. Ar judi manakate hō bam ańjomtiń ar bam batao khan, eńdekhan oka hilokem thayayin, en hilokgeń ođok calaka. Ma niā katha disā dōhokam, ar bam dōhoetiń khan, ma nitrege chuťiańme. Ma inage roṛ dō.

Ado uni koṛae menketa, Acha, onań disā dōhokaka; jāhā hilok jańgate dō bań lebetmea.

Ado sari uni kuṛi arhōe menketa, Ente in dō engań apuń hō ađi sańgińre menakkoa, ar am dō ale ořak hō bam nēlakata; alań dō eķen horregelań napamakana, eńde khongem aguakadińa.

Ado unre uni koṛae menketa, Ado ente miť dhao gan hō naiħarte dō bam idińa, bam udukańa?

<sup>8</sup> The Santals have a number of baskets, named according to size and shape, and also, as here, according to use. The one here mentioned has the common bowl-shape, like practically all Santal baskets made from bambo. All cow- and buffalo-dung is collected. It is sometimes used for manuring purposes. Over large tracts in India dried cow-dung is used as and is the only fuel.

It must not be supposed that the proceeding here described is the ordinary Santal marriage which, when carried out according to the proper rites and ceremonials, is a very circumstantial affair. It sometimes happens that a young man will take a girl in without ceremony; more often a girl, standing in an illicit relation to a young man, will 'forcibly' enter a house to protect herself or to bring about a regular marriage. Such a girl will, on entering, touch the household utensils and act as one belonging to the house. The result will always be a 'palaver', with settling of accounts, and finally a dismissal or a regular marriage. The girl here acts something like a 'run-in' wife, as they call them, although some of the essentials are not mentioned.

<sup>10</sup> A veiled expression for having children. The Santals carry their children riding on the left hip.

<sup>11</sup> The expressions used refer to the different ways in which a man who has no shoes may use his foot for kicking. Santal has different words for every way.

The following morning the girl took a cow-dung basket<sup>8</sup> and went straight into the cattle-shed to collect the dung; having finished this and thrown the dung out, she swept the courtyard and went and fetched water. "Oh mother," they said, "this girl, she has just come, and she works like a wonder. Who knows what kind of an understanding there is between these two." Of course, they were also looking at the girl, she was very beautiful in appearance. So the young man's parents consulted together and agreed: "Let us keep this girl, we must not let her go away." And in very truth they kept the girl to be the wife of this same young man, and from the next night they ordered them to lie on the same bed. From that time they slept together and became of one mind<sup>9</sup>.

The girl then said, that is, she spoke to the young man: "I say, now we two have become husband and wife; not for a day or two, but to live together for all time, father and mother have likely joined us together. Now there is one matter about which I speak to you most solemnly: will you do as I say or not? If you do as I say, I shall remain with you; otherwise I will never agree to remain. When one becomes tied by having to carry on the hip<sup>10</sup>, it is also most difficult to leave. Therefore I speak out to you now; if you will do as I say, I shall speak, otherwise not."

"Well then," he said, "let me first hear what it is."

Then the girl said: "It is this I am referring to: for some reason or other father and mother, brothers and sisters, or husband and wife, that is all of us in a family will some time have a quarrel. We two will also some day, for some reason or other, start quarrelling, may be on account of the house work, or on account of some other matter. You men sometimes get drunk, and then scold something awful; you men also go so far as to beat. Therefore I already now tell you between our two selves: if at any time we have a quarrel, you may strike me, or use your fist on me, or beat me, all such things I shall put up with from you; but anything with the foot I am not standing from you. This I forbid you: trampling, or kicking with the sole of the foot, or kicking with the toes<sup>11</sup>, you must not in any way trample on me or kick me with your foot. If you, after I have warned you, will not listen to what I have said or heed it, then the day you kick me, that day I shall leave. Please retain this in your memory; if you will not listen to me, give me free now. This is what I had to say."

"All right," the young man said, "I shall remember this; I shall never at any time kick you with my foot."

Then the girl again said: "You see, my parents are living very far away, and you have not been to our house either; we two have only just met one another on the road; from there you have brought me."

The young man answered: "Will you not then take me, if only for once, to the house of my parents-in-law? will you not let me see that?"

Ado unre uni kuriye menketa, In do onde khon kahiskaten odokakana, onde do ohogen senlena.

Ado inaktege uni kuli ruare reak doe hirinketa. Kchange adokin thir barayena.

Ado aghar tioken khan ko baha saohaketkina. Ado bochor din khangekin gidrawana. Ado uni kuriye rophayen khan, kathae, bebaricko kisarena, joto jinisge adi hoeyentakoa. Ado onakate arho mittan kin gidrawana, ado jotoko tuluc adi sulukgeko tahayena.

Ado dher dine tahyen khan, kathae, uni korā do mone moneteye menketa, Bhala mit din do ere ere te micha michi kaphariau in ehoba, adon thayā godea, bhalae odok calaka seye tahena.

Ado kathae, mit din do han diye nu aguakawana, ado micha michi jhograe ehoketeye thayā gotkede. Ado uni bahu kuri do adi barice rakketa, menketae, Durre! am do adi bebuj hor kanam; nokdeyem thayā gotkidiña, adom mokonadiña, in do onategem thayakidiña. Sei dinren metatmea, jangate do alom jotediña, menkhan inak katha bam dholeta, nokdeyem jotetkidingea. Herel hopon adi erepe galmaraoa. Ma ado in dinge am then don tahen kana. In don odok calak kana, ar nukin gidra ho banar don idi torakina.

Ado uni korā do cet ho bae ror dareak kana. Ado kathae, gidrai heoketkina; adoko odok gotena. Ado uni korā doe bhabnayenteye or ruaretkoa, ado bako ruar kana; joto horteko ruaretkore ho, bako ruar kana. Adoko menketa, Acha, thora sangin sen nok ocoako, adobon ruar agukoa. Katha bae anjomet khanbo cekaea?

Ado uni kuriye menketa, Aperen hopon herelge bae dholek khan don cekaea? In ma tahen horge, ado nui apattetgeye bidawadin khan in cekaea?

Ado barge horteye odok gotena; tala barge kathaeye senlen kchange dugur dugur jotoko jol gotena, ac ho ar unkin gidra ho.

Kchange onako helket khan, joto hor adi baricko botorena, arko menketa, Durre! Cele kuribon bahuledea? Cekate boge bae jomletbon?

Ado uni korā do mone monete adi barice bhabnayena, menketae, Cedak con thayakede? Onategeye odok calaoena, ar bankhan hutec ohoe odoklena; ingen baricketa; onatege pahilre besgeye metadin tahēkana, ado onkan hor ohoh hamlekoa. Ado uniye odoken khae, kathae, arhoko rengec ruarena.

Cabayena uni korā reak katha do.

<sup>12</sup> *Aghar* is the month from the middle of November to the middle of December, often used for performing certain ceremonies.

<sup>13</sup> See above, p. 50, note 9. A regular public ceremony is gone through.

<sup>14</sup> The Santals live in villages, but their houses are always lying separated from each other, each homestead standing close to the village street, at the end of a field, in which maize and cold weather crops are cultivated.

<sup>15</sup> The expression does not imply that the persons were consumed by fire. The Santals have a superstition that, in certain circumstances, bongas will emit a more or less strong light. A light seen and not recognized or understood will frequently be thought to be due to supernatural causes.

"I have come out from there, vexed in my mind," the girl said, "and am quite unwilling to go there."

Having talked so much, he forgot to question her more, and so they let the matter rest.

When the month of aghâr<sup>12</sup> came, they legalized their irregular marriage<sup>13</sup>, and when a year had passed, they got a child. When the girl had settled down, content with her circumstances, they became awfully rich; all kinds of goods they got. Then they again had a child, and they were living happily in great peace with everybody.

After she had been living there for a long time, it came to pass that the man one day said to himself: "Well, I wonder, one day I shall find some pretext, and for fun start a quarrel and then give her a kick, I wonder whether she will leave or stay."

So one day he came home after having drunk rice-beer, he commenced, on some pretext, to quarrel and suddenly kicked her. The wife commenced to cry bitterly. "Woe, woe," she said, "you are a man without any sense; see there, you kicked me and did for me. It was therefore you kicked me. That day I told you: Don't touch me with your foot. But you have not listened to what I said; look, now you have touched me. You men are great liars. Well now then, so long I have stayed with you; I am leaving now, and these two children also I take both along with me."

The man could not say a word, and the girl took the two children on her hips, and they went out. Now the man became sorry and tried to draw them back again; but they would not return, and even when all in the house tried to persuade them to come back, they would not. So they said: "Well, let them go and get some distance off; then we shall bring them back again. If she does not listen to what we say, what can we do?"

The girl then said: "Since your son did not listen, what can I do? I am of those who remain. When the father of this child has sent me away, what can I do?"

Hereupon she went out and took the way over the fields<sup>14</sup>. When she reached the middle of the field in which the house was standing, they all blazed up<sup>15</sup>, both she and her two children. When the others saw this, all of them became very frightened. "Oh, oh," they cried out, "what kind of a girl is it that we made our daughter-in-law? How is it, and how fortunate that she did not eat us."

But the young man grieved very much in his mind and said to himself: "How could I kick her? That was the cause of her leaving; otherwise she would certainly not have left. It was my fault. Why, she also told me beforehand. And now I shall certainly not get anyone like her."

When she left them, these people, it is told, again became quite poor.

The story of the young man is ended.



## 2. Baijal kora reak katha

Sedae jokhen, kathae, mit̃aṇ atore Baijal ñutuman mit̃aṇ koṛae tahēkana, ar uni koṛa dō tirio qoṛō ar baknam dō khube baḍae kan tahēkana. Adō kathae, ona aṇjomte mit̃aṇ hoṅga kuṛiye bulauente mit̃ din dō eskare tahēkan jokhen uni kuṛi dō Hoṛ kuṛi chinte uni lahareye sōdorente sakame heḥe kan. Adō uni koṛa hō uni kuṛi sēgeye calao idiyena. Adō kathae, uni kuṛige oṭeye rōṛ maraṇ goṭketa, Henda peṛa, okaren kanam?

Khange uniye mēnketa, Niakoren kangeaṇ; ar am dōm okaren kana?

Uni hōe mēnketa, In hōh niakoren kangea.

Adō uni koṛae mēnketa, Qhoṇ ṇel oromet̃mea.

Adō uni kuṛi hōe mēnketa, Am hō cōṇ baṇ ṇel oromet̃me.

Adō enka enkatege khildukin eḥōpketa, adōkin sarinaḱketa, bōṭor bhaṅgaoentakina. Adō dingekin ṇapama. Adō mit̃ din dōe metadea, Dela ale oṛakṭeṇ idimea, inā dō ale oṛak hōm ṇel aḡukatalea. Adōe idikedeā.

Adō calak calakte mit̃aṇ darharekin bōlōk kana, adō kathae, ṭhiṭṛākte dakre bōlōk lekae aḱkauleṭa. Adō tinre cōkin paromkeṭte ḡahar ḡahartekin calak kan. Adō oṛakkin tiokkeṭ khan, apat baret uni kuṛiko kulikedeā, Nui dō okōeyem aḡukedeā?

Adō uni koṛa dō bogeteye bōṭorok kana. Adō uni kuṛiye metadea, Am dō alom bōṭo-roka, qhoṇ ceka ocomea. Adō duṛup̃ laḡiṭ maḱiko beladea, adō onareye duṛup̃ena. Ar uni kuṛi dōe laiat̃koa, Nui dō jāwāe iñ aḡuakadea.

Ar kathae, biṇ dōko gaṇḍo kantakoa, ar kul tarup̃ dōko seta kantakoa, ar taben dō meral sakam kantakoa, ar piṭṭa dō gōeṭha. Ar noṭere koṛaren eṅgat apat dōko mēneṭa, Aleren koṛa dō okate cōe aṅgenen. Onkako mēneṭa.

Adō kathae, pe pon māhā oṇḍeko dōhōkedeā. Adō mit̃ din dō baretteko marak sendrako riḡukedeā; metadeako, Delabon jāwāe, marak sendra.

Adō uni koṛa hōe mēnketa, Acha delabon.

Adōko metadea, Ma uni seta tiḡetabonme.

Adōe mēnketa, Ma ape baṛe tiḡeḡe, iñ dō nahāk birreṇ tiḡetabona.

Adō sariko calaoena, bir birtoko sendra idiyeta; adō bir muḱatre mit̃ hoṛ huruṭe kuḱṭam kana. Adō uni koṛako metadea, Hani haṇḍe, jāwāe, marake aṭiṇ kana; ma seta tiḡak idiyeben; pāhil dō capat ḡḍeben, adō seta liliḡueben.

<sup>1</sup> See p. 46, note 1.

<sup>2</sup> It is a common idea with Santals that, when a man is taken away to the netherworld, the transition is made through water, the person in question being unconscious of what is happening until all is past.

<sup>3</sup> The Santals are not alone in believing that the people of the netherworld use snakes for stools and cow-dung for bread. As to the first, it might be noted that what is here called a stool (in Santali, a *gaṇḍo*) is only a flat piece of wood, generally fashioned just a little underneath, so as to leave a 'leg' or support at each end. It is not necessary to have recourse to something fantastically twisted and coiled to imagine a snake doing service as a *gaṇḍo*.

<sup>4</sup> *Taben* is parched rice pounded hard and flat. Rice made up in this way is very commonly taken along when making provision for a journey.

## 2. THE STORY OF THE YOUNG MAN BAIJAL

ONCE upon a time, long long ago, it is told, there was in a village a young man named Baijal, and this young man was awfully good at playing the flute and fiddling. By hearing him a bonga<sup>1</sup> girl was enraptured, and one day when the boy was alone, the girl appeared before him in human shape and showed herself engaged in gathering leaves. Then the young man also went towards the girl, and she, they tell, spoke first saying: "I say, friend, where do you come from?"

He answered: "I am from somewhere hereabouts; and you, where do you come from?"

The girl answered: "I am also from somewhere hereabouts," whereupon the young man said: "I am sure I don't recognize you."

Little by little they commenced to flirt and dally with each other, and ultimately they lost all fear. They got into the habit of meeting daily. One day she said to him: "Come along, I shall take you to our house; so you will also see how our home is." And she took him along.

As they were walking along, they came to a water-pool and went into the water. He felt, they tell, as if he entered the water up to the shins. Before he knew where he was, they had passed through and were walking along a road<sup>2</sup>. When they reached the house, the father and brothers of the girl asked her: "Who is this one that you have brought along with you?"

The young man was awfully afraid, but the girl said to him: "Don't be afraid, I shall not let anything happen to you." They placed a stool before him, and he sat down on it. Thereupon the girl told them: "This is a man I have brought to be my husband."

Now it is told that 'those people' use snakes to sit on in stead of logs; tigers and leopards are their dogs<sup>3</sup>; their taben<sup>4</sup> are meral<sup>5</sup> leaves, and their bread dried cow-dung.

Here on 'this side' the young man's parents say to themselves: "Our boy has been spirited away somewhere."

They tell that they kept the young man there for three to four days. Then one day the girl's brothers invited him to come with them to hunt peacocks. "Come along, brother-in-law<sup>6</sup>," they said, "let us go and hunt peafowls".

"Well," said the young man, "let us go."

Then they said to him: "Please lead that dog of ours along with you."

But he said: "Please, you lead him along with you. When we reach the forest, I shall take him along for us."

So they started and went through the forest hunting. Now at the end of the forest a man was occupied cutting tree stumps. "Look, brother-in-law," they said, "see that one over there, the peacock who is feeding. Do take the dog along; be quick and hit him first with something, and so set the dog on."

<sup>5</sup> Meral is the name of a small tree, *Phyllanthus Emblica*, L., having tiny leaves in shape and size resembling taben.

<sup>6</sup> It might be noted, that the people of the 'other side' at once recognize the relationship brought about by the action of the girl. No regular marriage is thought necessary or even possible.

Ado baraka'teye metako kana, Ukurié ho? Bañ nêl nâme kan dō.

Adoko metadea, Uni ho hurute kuktām kan, uni kangeae marak dō.

Ado uni korae bujhauketa, Judi nahākle go'ckedea menkhan, dhorage hor jel doko jom oona. Ado uni korage seta doko tiak ocokedea, arko metadea, Do uni marak go'c aguyetabonme.

Ado sariye calaoena, ado kathae, bae capat pahilledea, ekkaltegeye liliau gotadea. Khange uni hor doe sontor gotente tēngoc doe muthiau uric gotketa, ado jemone don gotade, temonge uni doe kutām daram gotkadea, ekkalte, kathae, miť taṅgaregeye kutām lonḍo lonḍo gotkadea; arhōe dohradele khangeye sumar utarkadea.

Khange uni korā doe ruar hecente ervelko bahōnhartetkoe metako kana, Ia ho, marak thenge seta doe tobak go'c ocoyena.

Adoko metadea, Bam capat bindar marañledea?

Ado uni korae menketa, Cekañ hiriñ gotket coñ, bañ capat marañledea; menketañ, seta hō marañgeñ nêle kana, bañ nahāke darekgea janić? Onka menkate bañ capatledea.

Adoko ruhet barakedea, ado orakteko ruar calaoena Ado orakreko laiketa, ado apattete menketa, Alope ruhede, nui lelha hor dō cedakpe liliau ocoyede kana? Pahil dō bape uduk cetaea? Onka menkateye thir ocoketkoa.

Ado inā dosar tesar khange uni korae menketa, Delañ in dō idi otokañme, in don mokōhena.

Ado unre taben ar piṭhako moṭra ocokedea. Ado bana horḱin hijuk kana; unrete metae kana, Alom bagia jemōn dingelañ napam.

Adoe menketa, Ohōñ bagia. Ado inā darhae parom gotkadea.

Ado notere he'kate piṭha taben joma mente moṭrae raraketa, ado kathae nêl gotket dō, gōeṭha kan ar taben dō meral sakam. Ado joto onḍegeye rara giḍi dapoṛkata. Ado orakre senkate gate korakoe laiako kana, noako joto kathae laiketa.

Menkhan enre hō bakin bagileta, tahēyengeakin; gidrawanakin bare. Ar atore lagrēko enēc khan, uni doe hijukgea, unkin gidra hōe agu darakingea; ado agukate uni korawak parkomrege unkin gidra doe gitićkakina ar enēce calaka; enēc mokōṅkateko calaoenge.

Ado miť din dō uni kuṛiye menketa, Ia, amko bahuam kana, ado pahil porthom kuṛi gidraḱo hoelen khan dō, in bare nūmeñme, in dō nonkawaña.

Ado sari uni korako bahuadea, enre hō, kathae, kuṛi hijuk dō bae bagileta. Arhō onkage miť dhao lagrē enēc joto enḱa hoponko he'clena; ado onkage enēc mokōṅkate

<sup>7</sup> Such behaviour is not deemed specially offensive. It is rather common with newly married Santal girls who wish to pay a visit to their parents. It may, of course, also be an expression signifying that one has done with something.

<sup>8</sup> *Lagrē* is the name of a Santal dance, the one most commonly used when the rites and rules of ceremonies do not prescribe other dances. The girls form a line, catching hold of each other, and move slowly backwards and forwards and gradually round in a circle. The men, always only a few at a time, keep it going, jumping and beating the drum in front of the women. The women generally sing some song at a *lagrē* melody. The way

Pretending not to see him, he says to them: "Where? I am not able to catch sight of him."

"He over there," they said, "he who is cutting tree stumps, he is the peacock."

The young man then understood, and said to himself: "If we now kill this man, they will surely make me eat human flesh." However, they made the young man lead the dog along and said to him: "Now kill and bring us that peacock."

So he, truth to tell, went along; but he did not first throw anything at the man, he egged the dog on at once. Thereby the man became watchful, he grasped his axe tightly, and just as the dog jumped at him, he met him with a blow; with one single blow of the axe he struck him insensible, and when he gave him one more, he finished him entirely.

The young man thereupon returned to his brothers-in-law and said to them: "I say, there with the peacock the dog was pecked to death."

"Did you not then," they said, "first throw anything to fell him to the ground?"

"Somehow or other," the man answered, "I forgot that; I did not first throw anything at him. I said to myself that the dog also looked large in my eyes, and that he would likely manage. This was the reason that I did not try to hit him."

So they scolded him and returned home. When they reached there they told their tale, and the father said: "Don't scold him; why do you let this fool egg the dog on? Ought you not first to show him how to act?" Speaking in this way he silenced them.

Two or three days after this had happened, the young man said: "Come along, take me back; I have had enough of it<sup>7</sup>."

They let him make up a bundle of taben and bread, and the young man and the girl both started, and he said to her: "Don't quit, let us meet daily." And she said: "Certainly, I shall not leave off," whereupon she took him past the water-pool.

When he had reached this side, he opened the bundle to eat taben. But when he looked at it, he saw it was cow-dung, and the taben was meral leaves. So he opened it all and threw the stuff away then and there. Having arrived home, he told his chums everything. Still they did not leave each other, the boy and the girl continued to live together and got two children. When they had a dance in the village, the girl would also come and bring the two children along. When she brought these, she was in the habit of laying them on the young man's bed and then, she went to the dance. When the dancing was over, they all departed.

One day the girl said: "I hear they are arranging to have you married. When your first girl is born to you, name her after me, please. This must be done for me."

Now they actually had the young man married; still the bongra girl did not leave off coming. So it happened that all of them, mother and children, once came to dance *lagre*<sup>8</sup>,

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of dancing may be decent, but is often quite the opposite. This dance gives the two sexes an opportunity of meeting and is the occasion of much immorality.

<sup>8</sup> — Kr.a Etnogr. Mus. Skr. III.

calakko meneta, ar uni kora do bae sen ocoako kana, or ruaretkoae. Ado bako bataoet khane sin esetketkoa, are metako kana, Alope calaka, nondege tahenpe joto hor, mit thengebon tahena.

Ado uni kuri doe meneta, Ale do qhole tahelena; nenka ale dole hijuk senokgea. Men, ale do sen ocoaleme, alom eset baralea.

Ado bac arakako kante tinre con, kathae, cal sen jalat julutko rakapente kat then khonko paromena, ado kathae, sima simate jotoge bogeteko jol calaoena.

Khange en hilok khon uni kora doe botorena;<sup>9</sup>ado uni tulu'e bagi utarketa. Ado kuri gidrako hoyokre ho, uni nume reak do bae men baraea. Khange etakkoko numketkoge. Khange uni gidrai goenge; tin dhaoko hoyok, un dhaoko goe horaka. Ado dak sunum-reko nam aguadea, adoko kulikede, adoe hekketa, ado tin utarko numledea, tobe uniren gidrako tahelena. One ane Baijal kora reak katha do cabayena.

### 3. Mittan bongka kora reak katha

Sedae jokhen, kathae, mittan bir dun gri dhiri dander then mittan catanire uni bongka do dinge duba sunum ar naki'e, arsi aenome odokkaka, ar oka hilok oka hilok do sindur hoe odokkaka. Ado jahaege birteko calak maejiu do jotogeko nel nama, ar herel hoponko calaoena menkhan, kathae, bako nel nama.

Ado onka dingeko nel khan, ado kuriko do onakote nakijok, aenomokko portonketa, ar sunum hoko ojoga ar arsite hoko neloka. Ado onkate dingeko parkaena; ado birteko calak khan, pahil do ordogeko sen pahiloka.

Ado onkako hewayen khan do, kathae, mit dhao do eken kuri kurikoge moro hor birteko riap calaoena. Ado ona dhiri thenge en hilok hoko sen pahilena, ado onkage nindara leka

<sup>9</sup> See p. 52, note 15.

<sup>10</sup> Any disease which cannot be cured in a 'reasonable' time, and an untimely death, will generally be thought to be due to the influence of inimical powers, bongas or witches. To ascertain what the cause is, the Santals resort to divination. An *ojha*, that is, a medicine-man, is asked to do this for them. He takes two *sal*-leaves with prominent veins, and having rubbed oil here and there on one leaf, he says that such a part of the leaf is for disease, and such a part for witches, for bongas, and so on, then he covers the first leaf with the second one, salutes, and, muttering a *mantar*, puts the leaves on the ground. After a short while he takes them up again, salutes and removes the covering leaf; after having scrutinized the leaf, he announces the result. It is unnecessary to say that the *ojha* arranges the result, and that he does it according to what he understands is the common opinion of those who have engaged him.

To be fully sure, the people concerned will consult a number of *ojhas* and also take other precautions to avoid doing anybody an injustice. Most Santals have at the present day lost their belief in this kind of divination; still it is a matter of nearly daily occurrence.

and when they had done dancing, they wanted to go as usual; but the young man was not willing to let them go; he tried to pull them back, and when they would not listen to him, he shut them up in the house and said to them: "Don't go away; remain here, all of you. We shall live together, all of us."

But the girl answered: "We can certainly not remain here; we shall come and go, as we have done. Take care, let us go; don't attempt to block the way for us."

As he still would not let them go, they suddenly, it is told, blazed up<sup>9</sup> and rose towards the roof and passed out at the top of the wall. Thereupon they all of them went away in a blaze along the border of the field.

From that day the boy became frightened and left off having anything to do with the girl. When a girl was born to him, he did not say anything of naming the bonga girl either, but named other persons. The child, however, died. So often as a girl was born, so often the child died. Then they consulted the oil-oracle<sup>10</sup> for him and questioned him, whereupon he confessed the truth. First when they had named the bonga girl, his children would live. That is the end of the story of Baijal.

### 3. THE STORY OF A BONGA MAN

ONCE upon a time long long ago, they tell, there was a bonga who was in the habit of bringing daily a lot of oil and combs, mirrors and eye-paint<sup>1</sup> out and placing all this on a flat rock near a rock-cave in a forest-covered hill; now and then he also brought some sindur<sup>2</sup> out. Now all women who passed there on their way to the forest, caught sight of these things; but if any man passed that way, he never caught sight of it, people tell.

As the girls saw this every day, they commenced to comb themselves with the combs and to apply the eye-paint; they also rubbed themselves in with the oil and had a look at themselves in the mirror. In this way they, day by day, got into the habit of doing it; when they went to the forest, they always first went to this place.

When they had got into this habit, it is told, it once happened that five of them, only girls, agreed to go to the forest together. Also this time they went first to the rock mentioned, and according to their habit they also that day combed themselves. When they

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<sup>1</sup> What is here called eye-paint is a kind of lamp-black, very frequently used by Santal women to blacken their eyelids. The Santals have an idea, that bongas may bring out things to be found by human beings. As an example the following may be mentioned. The writer has among other things been collecting stone-beads, found in the ground, likely in old burial places. When once going to such a place, he was told it was quite useless to go that particular day, because it was only on Thursdays that the bongas brought these things out 'for market.'

<sup>2</sup> *Sindur* is the red lead which is so extensively used by (the Hindus and also) the Santals for religious purposes. It is used in connexion with their spirit worship; the essential part of the marriage ceremony -- except with a few of their subsects -- is that the bridegroom puts streaks of *sindur* on the forehead of the bride.

en hilok hōko nākijok kana; adō nākié barakateko beretena. Adō mitān kuṛi dō, kathae, cekakote cōe tayomen, bae nākié hoṭlēn, adō onko ponea dōko calao goṭena.

Uni dōe tayomen khangē bonga koṛa dōe oḍok goṭente dea sēn khon hape hapete hec-kateye haṛup goṭkedeā. Khangē uni kuṛi dōe hoṭorente bogeteye hoḥokeṭa. Adō onko gate kuṛi hijuktege, kathae, ona dhiri danderteye haṛup aderkedeā; thoṛa laḡit bako jhuṭiau tiokledeā. Adō onko kuṛi dō aḍi baṛiċko bhabnayena, arko menēṭa, Ma boṅga koṛa, aṛak goṭkaeme, baṅkhan nahāk oraḡre alege aḍi baṛiċko ruheṭleā. Niā dhao dō aṛakkaeme.

Adō uni boṅga koṛae menkeṭa, Do, ape dō ruṛar calakpe, nui dō oḥoṇ aṛakleā; nui dō iṅgeṇ bahuyea.

Adō khangē mitān kuṛiko kolkadeā arko mēn goṭadeā, Do, am dō senkate nui gate kuṛiren eṅgat apat laṛiakome, Aperen kuṛi dō hana phalna dhiri danderren boṅga koṛae aṅgenkedetapea. Onage laṛiape laḡit iṇ doṇ hecākana. Ar adom hoṛ dō oṇḍege menakkoa; bae aṛakede kana, onatē iṇ dōko kol goṭkadiṇa, do laṛiakome mente.

Adō kathae, inaḡtege uni boṅga koṛa dō dhiri kapatte ona duṛ dōe siṇ eṣeṭkeṭa. Ar uni kuṛiren eṅgat apat dō kaṁṁaṁ garja barjakin nīr hecēna ona dhiri dander then; adōkin kulikeṭkoa, Cēṭ lekate nui dōe aṅgenkedeā?

Adōko menkeṭa, Noṇḍege nākié, aṛsi, aenṁle namkeṭa; adō dubā sunum oḡokkatele nākié baṛayena; adō nui aperen kuṛi dō ceka lekate cōe tayomen, adōe haṛup ader goṭkedeā.

Adō onko gate kuṛikoge bogetekin ruheṭ barakeṭkoa; adō ente onko cēṭko mēna? Thir dorokenako, cēṭ hō bako roṛleṭa. Adō eṅgattēṭe rakkeṭa; adōko sereṇaka rak sereṇ:

Dubā sunumem noḡokkeṭ na, māi na,  
Kundar nākiċem nākiċen na, māi na,  
De māi na, noṇḍoṇ hijukme.

Adō kuṛiye roṛ ruṛakeṭa:

Dhiri siṇe siṅkidiṇ, nayo,  
Dhiri kaware kawarḡidiṇ, nayo,  
Do nayo, ruṛarjoṇme.

Adō apattēṭe rakkeṭa:

Dubā sunumem noḡokkeṭ na, māi na,  
Kundar nākiċem nākiċen na, māi na,  
De māi na, noṇḍoṇ hijukme.

Adō uni hō onka lekae roṛ ruṛadeā:

Dhiri siṇe siṅkidiṇ, baba,  
Dhiri kaware kawarḡidiṇ, baba,  
Do baba, ruṛarjoṇme.

Adō kathaeko ruṛ calaoena joṭo hoṛ.

had done so they rose to go. Somehow or other one of the girls fell behind; she was not quick enough combing herself, and four of them started going.

When this girl fell behind, the bonga man came out at once, and going stealthily up to her from behind, he suddenly threw his arms round her. The girl was frightened and called out loudly; but before her girl companions could come, the bonga had carried the girl in his arms into the rock-cave. They barely missed to catch hold of her hair. The girls became exceedingly sorry and called out: "Please, bonga boy, set her free; otherwise they will scold us awfully at home. Please, set her free this time."

But the bonga man said: "You return home. I will certainly not set the girl free. I shall make the girl my wife."

There was nothing for it, the other girls sent one of their number and instructed her what to do: "You go to the parents of our girl friend and tell them: The bonga man living in such and such a rock-cave has spirited your daughter away. I have come to tell you this. Some people are there on the spot; but he will not set her free; therefore they have sent me to tell you."

In the meantime the bonga man closed the entrance with a stone door. The parents of the girl came running, crying and howling, up to the entrance of the cave, and asked the other girls, how the bonga had spirited their daughter away.

"Here," they answered, "we found combs, mirrors and eye-paint, and after we had rubbed us in with the liquid oil flowing all over, we combed ourselves. Then somehow or other your daughter fell behind, and he threw his arms round her and carried her in."

They scolded her girl companions all round; but what could these say? They kept quiet and did not say a word. Thereupon the mother of the girl cried and sang (here they sing the following lamentation song):

You rubbed yourself in with the oil flowing all over, my girl,  
You combed yourself with the comb, my girl,  
Please, my girl, come out.

The girl answered:

He shut me up in the rock, mother,  
He imprisoned me in a rock prison, mother,  
Do, mother, return home.

Then the father cried:

You rubbed yourself in with the oil flowing all over, my girl,  
You combed yourself with the comb, my girl,  
Please, my girl, come out.

The girl answered him also in the same way:

He shut me up in the rock, father,  
He imprisoned me in a rock prison, father,  
Do, father, return home.

Thereupon all of them went away home.



Ado inā tayom khangē kakit kakatkin hecēna, ado unkin hō onka lekakin rakkeṭa; ado unkin hō onkageye ror ruarātkina; ado unkin hōkin ruarena. Ado mamot hatomtettikinkin hecēna, ado unkin hō onkage. Ado eke ekete joto perako hec cabayena; ado onkageko rakketre hō bac oḍoklena.

Ado sesre, kathae, barettet sadomre dečkateye hecēna, ado uni hō onkageye rakkeṭa, ar uni hō onkageye ror ruaradea. Cet lekan sadom coe tahēkantaē, ado uni sadome puski gotadea; ado uni sadom doe acur gotente ona dhiri silpihe phandaleta se, kathaeye phanda jhiē goṭkeṭa, ado arhōe hēlkeṭ do bhitrire dhiri kawaṛ menak; ado ona do bac jhiē dareata. Khangē adokin ruar calaoena, ado bogeyena.

Ado kathae, taheṇ tahentege tinak din badre coṇ uni kuriye menkeṭa, Ia, dher din in hoeyena; delaṇ ayo babateko miṭ dhao ganlaṇ hiri agukakoa.

Ado sari uni jāwāetēt boṅga koṛa hōe menkeṭa, Acha, eṇḍekhan gapalaṇ calaka.

Ado sari sandesok lagitkin jurau barakeṭa, piṭṭa ar tabenkoe saṛao ocokedeā, adokin calaoena. Ado seṭerkate besge aiso baisoko ataṇ daramkeṭkina, maṭi parkomko belatkina ar besgeko beohar barakeṭa. Ado en hilok doḱo doḱoḱeṭkina. Ado ona idiak sandes do kathaeko hēlkeṭa, piṭṭa do gōeṭṭa kan ar taben do meral sakam kan. Ado uni kupiko metae kana, Dela se māi, note hecēnme. Ado oraḱ sen hoḱo aderkateko udukae kana.

Adoe menkeṭa, Baṇa, ayo, piṭṭa ar tabengeṇ saṛaoleta, ado cekate coṇ nonkayen, ona do oḱoṇ men darelea; baṇkhan piṭṭa ar tabengeṇ saṛaoleta.

Ado apattēte menkeṭa, Acha cekaeam? Bogeyena. Ma alope ror baraea, thir daporkokpe, ar baṇkhan nahākpe bhirkaṭkina; ado hikri hō oḱokin hecēlena.

Ado sari sanam hoṛko thir barayena. Ado uni barettet do landa saṛai iate uni boṅga koṛa tuluē do khube gateyena ar khube galmarao kana; emanteak phuktikin galmarao kana. Adoko pera barakeṭkina, khubko marjatkēṭkina.

Ado dosar hilokko bidakeṭkina. Ado onakin calak jōkhenge uni kupiren barettet doe menkeṭa, In hō aben sāote atra dhur hēl gogot doṇ calakgea.

<sup>3</sup> It is not uncommon that Santals, when going on a visit to friends, take some kind of gifts with them for those to whom they go, food of some kind and other things, for instance, *sal*-twig-toothbrushes to people living far away from the *sal*-forests.

<sup>4</sup> The Santals have very little in the way of furniture. They sit on anything serviceable. Generally they have a couple of *gandos* (see p. 54, note 3) and one or two *macis* (i. e. square wooden frames on four low legs, with stringed seats), besides bedsteads. These last ones are rectangular wooden frames on four legs with a string bottom, woven in a peculiar way. When not in actual use, the beds are, generally, raised on one side and placed somewhere out of the way. When visitors come, it is the common custom to place a bedstead for them to sit on. It might be remarked that the 'furniture' here mentioned is all made by the Santals themselves. All do not know to string a *maci*, but a man who could not string a bedstead would be considered a dunce.

<sup>5</sup> When visitors come, they are not expected to remain, unless invited to do so. When relatives come to pay a visit, they generally manage to come in the afternoon, stay next day and then leave early the following morning. To stay longer, if not specially invited, would not be considered good form. Often, of course, the visit is shorter, as here.

<sup>6</sup> See p. 42, notes 4 & 5.

Some time afterwards the girl's paternal uncle and aunt came and cried in the same way; but these she also answered in the same manner, and these two also went away. Then her maternal uncle and aunt came and acted in the same way and got the same answer. Then, one after the other, all her relatives came; but although they also cried in the same way, she did not come out.

At last her brother came, riding a horse. He also cried in the same way, and him also she answered in the same manner. What kind of a horse it now was that he had, the horse suddenly gave him a hint. The horse turned quickly round and gave that stone door a kick so strong that he kicked the door open; but alas, he saw that there was inside still a rock fence, and this he was unable to open. So he and his horse returned home, and the matter was left as it was.

The girl consequently remained; then after some time, goodness knows how long a time it was, she said: "Look here, it is a long time since I came; come along, let us go on a visit, for once anyhow, to my parents."

Her husband, the bonga man, also agreed. "Well," he said, "we shall go tomorrow then."

So they prepared some presents of food<sup>3</sup> to take along; he told her to pack cakes and taben, and so they went. When they reached the place, her relatives received them well and friendly, placed a stool and a bedstead<sup>4</sup> before them to sit on and behaved in a fine manner. That day they asked them to remain<sup>5</sup>. When they looked at the gifts of food brought, look and behold, the cakes are cow-dung and the taben mere<sup>6</sup> leaves. "Please, my girl," they called to their daughter, "come here a moment." And calling her into the house they showed it to her.

"Oh no, mother," she said, "it was cakes and taben that I wrapped up. However this has happened, I am sure I cannot say. Anyhow, I certainly packed cakes and taben."

"All right," the father said, "what can you do? It is all right. Please, don't talk of it; keep quiet, can't you; otherwise you will presently scare them away, and then they will never again come here on a visit."

So they, all of them, did not say anything more. Now the girl's brother, on account of the laughing relationship<sup>7</sup>, made great friends with the bonga man and kept the talk going; they were constantly cracking jokes. They entertained them and feasted them exceedingly well.

The next day they bade them farewell. When they were starting, the girl's brother said: "I will also go half-way along with you to see you off."

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<sup>7</sup> The relationship between certain relatives, specially brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law, a man and his elder brother's wife, or his wife's younger sisters, further certain nephews and nieces and their uncle, and grandparents and grandchildren, is called *landa sagal*, laughing relationship, which means that such persons may laugh and jest and be intimate with one another. They are not supposed to stand on their dignity.

Adokin menketa, Bogege endekhan. Ado uni kora do kapiye oyo potomketa, ado unkin tayom tayomteye calak kana. Ado uni kuṛi doe laha akana, ar ona tayomre boṅga kora menaea, ar ona tayomre do uni hoṛ kora atra dhure nel goṛkakin kana.

Ado barge mucaṭ then mitṭaṇ bir tahēkana, ado ona bir ṭhenge uni boṅga kora do, kathae, tayom sen khone mak oco gofena, ekkalte hoṭokgeye mak topak goṭketṭaea. Ado uni miserate metadea, Dela na, ruarṁe; jāwāe doṇ goṛkedea. Ado sari beṅgeṭ acurkateye nelkede doe mak bindar akade. Khangekin ruarena. Ado thora saṅgiṇ hec hōkkatekin beṅgeṭ ruarkeṭ doṛin nelkeṭ, akin tayomte bohok do gudrau hijuk kan!

Khange botorte markin dar — ado ekkalte ako oraṛtekin nir hecena; ado onde hābiṛge bohok hō gudrau hecena. Khange ona botorte unkin do oraṛtekin nir boṛoyena, ado bohok hō oraṛte gudrau boṛoyena. Ado dakka laḡiṭ culhare seṅgelko jol akat tahēkana, adoko jhūkente ona bohok do culha seṅgelreko hoṭor khadle goṭkata; ado lo roṅgoyena. Ado onakate adiko raṣkayena, menketako, Bhageledeam, iā boṅgage, eṅgate khubledeam.

Ado inakate aṭ lo diṇ gange jāniṛ hoelena, ado uni kuṛi bohok haso ehōpkedeā; ado ranadere hō bac beslena, inā hasotegeye goṛcena; adoko menketa, Nui kuṛi do jāwāetēṭgeye idikedeā, unige bac araṛkedeā, onategeye goṛcena, ar baṅkhan hutēc oḥoe goṛlena. Ado eṅeko rapakkedeā, uniakko kaj koṛomketa.

Ado cabayena uni kuṛi reak katha do, in maraṅgea.

#### 4. Mitṭaṇ kaḍa gupi kora reak katha

Sedae jugre, kathae, mitṭaṇ kora kaḍae gupi kan tahēkana, ar uni kora do daṅguageye tahēkana. Ado mitṭaṇ gaḍa soḍok senre thora thuri dak tahēkana. Ado diṇ hilokge mitṭaṇ eṅga setae nelea, ṭhik tikin jokhen khange uni seta do ona gaḍa soḍok seṅgeye calaka. Ado uni koṛae mena, Bhala nui seta doe okqeren kan baṅ? Ar diṇ hilok noa soḍok seṅgeye calak kana; bhala noa soḍokre do cet laḡiṭe calaka? Bhala miṭ diṇ do tāṛākkateṇ nelea.

Ado onka menkate kathae, miṭ diṇ doe tāṛākena, ado kathae, eṇ hilok hō tikin khange uni eṅga seta doe hec goṭente ona gaḍa soḍok seṅgeye calaoena. Ado calaoen khan, uni

<sup>8</sup> The battle-axes (of some five or six different shapes) are now-a-days not very common. They are at the present time used for sacrificial purposes.

<sup>9</sup> See p. 52, note 14. <sup>10</sup> See p. 47, note 5.

<sup>11</sup> A headache of the kind here mentioned is very commonly believed to be due to supernatural causes. It is not unusual to hear that dead persons call for some living relatives to follow them. The writer remembers the following: An old woman, who was commonly believed to be, and for that matter also acknowledged herself to be, a witch, died. When she was being burnt, she raised one arm and one leg up. This was considered ominous. A short time afterwards two of her grandchildren died. The village people firmly believed that the old woman had wanted these children to follow after her.

<sup>12</sup> The funeral rites and ceremonies are circumstantial, numerous and obligatory.

"That is quite well, then," said they. The brother took a battle-axe<sup>8</sup> and wrapped it up in a cloth and walked behind those two. The girl was walking in front, behind her was the bonga man, and in the rear the young Santal, seeing them off half-way.

At the end of the field in which the house was standing<sup>9</sup>, there was a forest, and there in that forest the bonga man, they tell, was cut from behind; he (i. e. the Santal) slashed his neck through and his head off in one stroke. Thereupon he said to his sister: "Come along, girl, return home. I have killed your husband." When she looked back, she saw him; he had in very truth cut him down. So they went back. When they had come a short distance, they looked back and saw, behold, the head came rolling after them.

O my, they were frightened and started running all they could, and ran straight home; but even there the head came rolling along. Then, still more frightened, they ran inside the house; but the head also came rolling in. Now they had lighted a fire in the fire-place to cook food, and plucking up courage they poked the head into the burning fire, so it was burnt to cinders. So they became very glad: "You gave him his deserts," they said, "that unspeakable bonga; dash it<sup>10</sup>, you did him exceedingly well."

After this, it was perhaps eight or nine days afterwards that it happened, then the girl got a headache, and although they applied medicine, she did not recover; she died from that headache<sup>11</sup>. "The husband," they said, "has taken this girl away; it was he who would not let her off. Therefore she died; otherwise she would certainly not have died." So they cremated her and performed the usual rites and ceremonies on her account<sup>12</sup>.

So the story of that girl is ended. It is thus much.

#### 4. THE STORY OF A BOY WHO HERDED BUFFALOES

ONCE upon a time in the old days, it is told, a young man was herding buffaloes. He was not as yet married. Now there was a little water in a river-bed<sup>1</sup>. Here he daily saw a bitch; exactly at noon every day this dog was in the habit of going down into this river-bed. "I wonder," the young man was saying to himself, "whom this dog belongs to. She goes every day down into this river-bed. Whatever does she go down there for? Well, some day I shall watch and see."

Intent on this, he one day kept watch, and that day also the bitch came and went straight towards the river-bed. When she reached there, the young man kept his eyes open to see what the dog would do. Having this in his mind, the young man remained quiet.

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<sup>1</sup> Buffaloes are always herded not far from water. It seems to be a necessity for them to lie some time in water daily; here the herdsman rubs and washes them.

korā dō tan mane ñeñel kana, bhala nui seta dō cete cekaea. Adō kathae, onka mēnkate uni korā dōe thir akana. Adō uni seta dō ona sōḍōkre bōlōkate ona seta hōrmō dōe bōckata; adōe umōk kana. Adō un jōkhēne ñele kana, hōr hō hōr bōnga hō bōnga, hankae ñelok kana.

Adō kathae ñel hapekadegea; cet hō bae rōr saḍeleṭa. Adōe um bāra mōkōñen khan dō ona seta hartaregeye bōlōyena. Adō setayente oṛakteye calak kana.

Adō saṅgiñ ñōke calaoen khan, kathae, uni korā dōe beretente uni setageye pañja idikedeā. Adōe mēneṭa, Bhala nui seta dōe oḱōeren kana ar oka oṛakreye bōlōka, oḱōe toraṅ ñel bōlō oṭōkaea. Adō onka mēnkate sariye pañja idikedetēye ñel bōlō oṭōkadea. Adō hōre kulikeṭkoa, Henda hō, bhala nui seta dōe oḱōeren kan bañ? Behaj jute ñelok kana. In hō nonkan setaṅ ñamleko khan dōñ ṣulkeko.

Adō onko hōrko mēneṭa, Nui seta dōe phalnaren kana. Adō inaye suhikeṭ khan uni korā dōe ruar heḱena.

Adō kathae, eñ sernage uni korāren bāhuko ñam barayetkoa. Adō uni korāe mēneṭa, In dō hōr kupi dō bañ bāhukoa; in dō seta kuṛigeñ bāhukoa. Khange adō aḍi baričko landawadea. Adō eñre hōe mēneṭa, In dō seta kuṛipe bāhuan khan dōñ dōhōkoa; ar bañ-khan dō bañ dōhōkoa.

Adō onka jide rōrkeṭ khanko mēneṭa, Nui korāre dō seta jivige menak cōñ cet cōñ, onatege hōr dō bae khusiako kante setageye ñam kana.

Adō eṅgat apatkin mēneṭa, Acha, eṇḱekhan setagebon aḱukoa.

Adō uni korāe mēneṭa, Hana atote calakpe, uni phalna hōrren eṅga seta menaea. Uni ñel aḱuyepe ar kulikope. In dō uniregeñ khusi akana; ma unigebon aḱuyea.

Adō sariḱo calaoenteko ñelkedeā, ar uni hōr hōko kulikedea. Adō uni hōr hō aḍi bariče landakeṭa, ar goṅako reak aḍi khulāsatēye hēkatkoa.

Adō bapla reakko oramkeṭa. Adō sanam saḱi juhi ṭhiken khanko maṇḍwaketa, adō bariātōkko calaoena. Adō uni seta kuṛigeḱo bapla aḱukedeā. Adō onkage baret lumtiko heḱena; adō um naṛkakateko biḍayena.

<sup>2</sup> A very common expression in Santali, the meaning being that the person in question is exceedingly beautiful, more so than is ordinarily found. It is about equivalent to 'a goddess in human shape'.

<sup>3</sup> It might be noted, that the Santali word *hōr*, besides meaning a human being, also means a Santal. They call themselves so when asked which race they belong to.

<sup>4</sup> The idea of transmigration is not indigenous among the Santals and not by any means commonly taken up by them; but one may meet among them speculations like what is told here. If something abnormal or monstrous is met with in some person, they may be heard attempting to explain it by supposing that the soul of an animal, having naturally characteristics similar to those observed, has entered the person.

<sup>5</sup> A marriage is with the Santals a very circumstantial affair. The two most concerned are generally those least consulted. When a man thinks that his boy ought to get a wife, he engages a go-between, who finds out where a suitable party may be, whereupon the two families commence negotiations, the bride-price is fixed, and the engagement is made public. Small gifts are exchanged, both sides feast each other and so on, until a day for the marriage ceremony is fixed. This is regularly performed in the house of the bride. The bridegroom goes there, followed by a number of relatives and friends.

When the bitch had entered that river-bed, she took off her dog's body and had a bath. During this he was looking at her; like a human being and at the same time a spirit<sup>2</sup>, thus she was in appearance.

He only looked at her quietly, but did not utter a single word. When she had done bathing, she entered her dog's skin, became a dog again and went homeward.

When the dog had gone some distance away, the young man got up and followed after her. He said to himself: "I wonder whose dog this one is, and which house she will enter. I shall at once follow and see her go in." And intent on this he really followed and saw the dog enter a house. He thereupon asked the people there: "I say, I wonder whoever is the owner of this dog. She is looking marvellously beautiful. If I could also get such dogs, I should like to keep them."

"This dog belongs to such and such a person," they replied. Having ascertained this, he returned home.

Now it so happened that the young man's people that very same year were seeking a wife for him, and the young man said: "I shall not marry any human<sup>3</sup> girl, I will marry a dog-girl." They laughed at him very much, but he still said: "If you bring me a dog-girl for a wife, I shall take her; and if not, I shall not marry at all."

As he persisted in talking in this way, they thought by themselves: "This boy must certainly have a dog's soul<sup>4</sup>; therefore he does not like human beings and wants a dog."

His parents then said: "Well and good, let us so bring a dog."

The young man then said: "Go to that village over there; such and such a man has a female dog. Go and have a look at her and ask them. I am pleased with her; let us bring her."

So they really went and had a look at the dog, and asked the owner for her. He also laughed uproariously, and when they asked him to give the dog in marriage, he agreed with the greatest pleasure.

Thereupon they made the necessary preliminaries for the ceremony, and when all negotiations were settled<sup>5</sup>, they erected the marriage-shed<sup>6</sup> and started for the celebration. They performed the ceremony<sup>7</sup> and brought the girl-dog off. The representatives of her family also came along, and after they had bathed and had washed their hair, they were sent away home<sup>8</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> At each marriage a *mandwa* is erected in the court-yard of the parents. Some poles are fixed in the ground round a small square; rafters placed horizontally form the roof, on which a number of branches with fresh leaves is placed, giving sufficient shadow. Here the public marriage-ceremonies are mostly performed.

<sup>7</sup> The binding part of a Santal marriage is the *sindrādan*. The bride is lifted up in a wide basket in which she is sitting. The bridegroom rides on the shoulder of a man and being taken close to the bride he five times puts a streak of *sindur*, red lead, on her forehead.

<sup>8</sup> The text is not quite clear, whether the relatives are dogs or the dog's owner and friends. The narrator has informed me that the bridal party consisted of human beings only, that is, in his opinion.

Ado khangē uni seta dō uni kora tulućeko gitićkadea. Ado onkage dher din dhabic mićrekin gitićena. Ado kathae, uni seta dō nindā khangē ona seta hōrmō khon ođokkate bahreteye calaka. Ado kathae, onae ciā tikkedeā.

Ado mić din dō ere ere barćateye japić laha goćkeća. Ado uni kuři dō seta hōrmō khon ođokkate calake menet tahēkana. Ado kathae, un jokhen geye harup goćkedete ona seta harta dō culha seńgelreya khanjo goćkate, adō joto lo rońgoyena.

Ado khangē uni seta dōe hōrena, adō unreko nele kan dō, hōr hō hōr bońga hō bońgageye nełok kana. Ado khangē sanam hōr adiko khusiyena, adō uni kora adiko sarhaokedeā.

Ado uni koraren bahu nełte uni koraren gate korae menkeća, In hō eńgate setageń bahukoa. Nui kora setae bahuledete nonkan mōńj bahui nawana, tobe to in hō setageń bahukoa.

Ado sari uni kora hō seta bahukogeye hursokete, adō sari seta bahugeko sirikećkote bapla reakko oramkeća, adoko mańdwakeća. Ado sunum sasańko ojoge jokhen hō, kathae, bogeteye garjao, ar sindra dan jokhen hō bogeteye garjao. Ado kathae, enre hō enka garjao tulućeko agukedegea. Ado kathae, nońdō hō onkageye garjao, adō jormotćeko sunum sasańketkina. Ado baretkoko bidakćeko khan, bogeteye dar, bańgeya taheń. Ado uni korageko metadea, Ma ya, hani tora bahui daretćama, do sumarem.

Ado kathae, rukare calaoen khan, bogeteye garjaoeć ar sojhe gegergeye chućauć kan. Ado khangeye ika daporkadea. Ado khangē bae ruar dareade khan, bogeteko landawadea; adō uni kora dō lajaote ceć hō bae rořleća. Ado ina ursiń barsiń khangē uni kora dō lajaoteya phaśi goćena.

Cabayena katha dō, in marańgea.

## 5. Gupi kora reak katha

Sedae jokhen, kathae, mićtań kora gaiye gupi kan tahēkana; adō uni kora dō gupi gupitegye hara juanena.

Ado kathae, aghar cando jokhen bir reak kuřić rama janum dō adi barić bele akane nełkeća. Ado gaiko hō adiko atiń kan khać dōe menkeća, Noa kuřić rama janum beleń jomlege. Ado onka menkate ona jhōř tene calaoente janum beleya jojom kana.

<sup>9</sup> See p. 47, note 5.

<sup>10</sup> See above, note 7.

<sup>11</sup> When bride and bridegroom arrive at the village of the bridegroom, a number of ceremonies are gone through, thus they are, here also, anointed and have to go from house to house to have their feet washed and to be fed with molasses.

<sup>12</sup> When the official part of a ceremony is over, the guests are solemnly bidden farewell. They may often remain longer, but they are not any more guests for a special ceremony or feast. The formalities are over, and every one is at liberty to go away.

<sup>51</sup> Santal children are set to work in the household, as soon they can be of use. Boys and girls are sent out to look after the cattle at a very early age. The 'education' they receive in this way is of a low order, and the cattle suffers just as much. It is rather out of the common that a boy continues as a cattleherd after he has grown to maturity; but, of course, it happens.

They let the dog lie on the young man's bedstead, and thus they were lying together for a long time. When it was night and all were asleep, they tell, the dog was in the habit of getting out of that dog's body and going out. The young man spied on her and found this out.

So one night he pretended to have fallen asleep. The girl then came out of her dog's body and was just starting to go out; at that moment the young man suddenly caught her in his arms and threw the dog's skin into the fire in the fire-place, so it was all burnt to ashes.

Now that dog became a human being, and they saw her; a human being and at the same time a spirit, such she was in appearance. Then all of them became very pleased and praised the young man very much.

Seeing the young man's wife, a boy companion of his said to himself: "Dash it<sup>9</sup>, I will also marry a dog. This fellow married a dog and got such a beautiful wife. I shall do the same."

Really and truly this young man importuned his relatives to get a dog-wife, and they really arranged for such a one and settled the preliminaries and erected the marriage-shed. When they came to anointing the dog with oil and turmeric, she howled awfully, and at the time of *sindradan*<sup>10</sup> she did the same. Still in spite of all this howling they brought her along. But also when she came to their house, she howled in the same way, so they had to use force anointing them<sup>11</sup> with oil and turmeric. When they bade farewell to her male relatives<sup>12</sup>, she started running all she could; she would not remain. "Look, look," they said to him, "see her over there, your wife is running off. Do make an end with her."

When he went to bring her back, she only howled something awful and commenced straight away to bite. So he let her off, the wretch. When he could not bring her back, they laughed mercilessly at him, and he felt such shame, that he did not say a word. And a couple of days afterwards the young man for very shame went and hanged himself.

That is the end of this story. It is thus much.

## 5. THE STORY OF A COWHERD

ONCE upon a time in the old days, they tell, a young man was herding cows; he had been doing this since he was a boy<sup>1</sup> and had grown to maturity herding cattle.

So it once happened in the month of aghār<sup>2</sup>, he saw a kite's talon thorn-bush<sup>3</sup> in the forest, full of ripe fruit. As the cows were occupied grazing, he said to himself that he would eat some of the fruit at once, and intent on this he went to the bush and started eating fruit.

<sup>2</sup> Aghār is the month from the middle of November to the middle of December; it is the time when the heavy rice and much else ripens.

<sup>3</sup> The name as given is the literal translation of the Santal name for *Zizyphus oxyphylla*, Edgew., a common scandent bush with strong thorns. The fruit is eaten.



Ado kathae, ona jhōṇḍ ṭhenge husiṭ boṅga jaṇumte ramkate dhiriteko ṭen akadea, ar se uni koṛa dō bac baḍae kana, noa dō husiṭ boṅgako ṭen akadea mente. Khange uni boṅgae meṅkeṭa, Mēn ya phalna, mēn yam lebeṭ akadiṇa.

Khange kathae, uni koṛa dō coṭko sengeye koyōk barayeta. Ado aḍi āṭṭeye metade khan, kathae ye ocoḱena. Ado uni koṛae meṅkeṭa, Okor yaṇ ṇel ṇameṭmea?

Ado kathae, uni boṅgae meṅkeṭa, Ma noa dhiri khon uṭṭkau oḍokkaṇme, adōṇ bhōrama; ado nahāk jotom ṇel ṇamlea ar jotokoak rorge nahākem bujhaṭakoa, muḱ reak ror hō nahākem aṇjom ṭhika.

Ado uni koṛae meṅkeṭa, Sari se nasem meṇeṭa? Paṣem ereyediṇ kan?

Adoḱe metadea, Baṇa, saṛigeṇ metam kana, oḥōṇ eṛemea; ma uṭṭkaukaṇme.

Ado sari ona dhiriye ṭhelao ocoḱkeṭa ar rampha jaṇum hō jotoe hoṭor ocoḱkeṭa. Khange kathae, uni boṅgae oḍokena; adoḱe metae kana, Ma bhōr hoṭaṇme, gāi bako thirol kantiṇa.

Ado kathae, luture oṇkedeā, ar ceṭko coṇ mantar barakate mēṭāhā senteye aḱkedeā. Khange kathae, jotō boṅgae ṇel ṇamkeṭkoa ar ror hōe bujhaṭ ṭhikeṭtakoa. Ado unrete metadea, Nēkē iṇ bhōraṭmea, aḱkā okoe ṭhen hō alom lai baraea, am baḥu ṭhen hō alom lai. Ar judim laikeṭa meṅkhan, oḥom ṇel ṇamlekoa ar ror hō oḥom aṇjom dareṭetakoa. Ma inageṇ metam kana.

Ado uni koṛa hō gāi seṇe calaoena. Ado sari je kichu boṅga dō jotoge ye ṇel ṇameṭkogeā, ar muḱ ror hō, kathae ye aṇjom ṭhikeṭtakogeā.

Ado tin diṇ badre coṇ, kathae, miṭṭaṇ koṛae baiyena, ran ranteko bhagaoena, bange ye besok kan. Ado cekate coṇ nui koṛa dō onko oraḱ senge ye calaoen, adoḱe meṅkeṭa, Bhala uni ruḱk koṛaṇ ṇellege. Ado uni ruḱk koṛa ṭhene calaoen khane ṇelkede dō, miṭṭaṇ boṅga koṛamre duṛupkate, kathae, hoṭoke lin akadea. Khange uni koṛa dō hape hapete aḱaḱ kicriḱe pāk-keṭtaea, ado kathae, uni boṅga dō ona kicriḱe dale dalkedeā se, bogeteye dalkedeā. Oṇḍe khone laga ṇirkede khan uni koṛa dōe phaṛiḱ goṭena.

Ado un khon uni koṛa dō ojhaḱe bahnayena; ado kathae, ḍaṅgra jomko ṭhen hō boṅga-koko seṇlen khan, bogeteye lagakoa. Ado kathae, un khon uni koṛa dō aḍiko boṭoraēa.

<sup>4</sup> See p. 48, note 6.

<sup>5</sup> What is here rendered 'fellow' is in Santali a particle used in addressing boys and men younger than the speaker. It has a flavour of familiarity and sometimes of contempt.

<sup>6</sup> All animals are supposed to be able to communicate with each other. In the folk-tales the talk of ants is rather commonly mentioned, just like here. The ants are seen everywhere, their industry, their way of working and their whole life will easily appeal to human intellect and cause wonder.

<sup>7</sup> Possession by evil spirits is believed in by the Santals. The common idea is not that the spirit enters anybody; the general belief is that the spirit mounts a person, sits there and acts in some way, producing symptoms of disease. The writer remembers once being told about a man, that a spirit jumped upon him when he was returning home from field-work. The spirit was so heavy that the man felt like a weight of two maunds, about 80 kilogr., on his back! He just managed to stumble along until he came to a tree near his home, when the spirit suddenly jumped off his back and up into the tree!

<sup>8</sup> The Santals have two kinds of medicine-men, some who only give medicine, others who profess to find out the supernatural causes of disease and who, in addition to giving medicine, also do the 'necessary' to propitiate or drive away the evil spirits. These last ones are called *ojha*, a name derived from Sanskrit through Hindi. The boy here is, of course, understood to be an *ojha*, although his behaviour is rather out of the common way of *ojha*-procedure. See also p. 58, note 10.

Now here at this cluster people had blocked up with thorns a bonga, who had been expelled<sup>4</sup>, and had put a stone on top; but the young man was, of course, ignorant of the fact that the stone was pressing down an expelled bonga. "Look out, young fellow," the bonga called out, "look out, young fellow, you so and so, you are trampling on me."

The young man was looking upwards; but when the bonga called out so loudly, he stepped aside and said: "Where are you, you fellow?<sup>5</sup> I don't see you."

"Please," the bonga said, "get me out and away from this stone; then I shall give you a blessing, and you will presently see us all and understand what all beings say; even the talk of the ants<sup>6</sup> you will be able to hear and understand."

"Do you speak the truth," the boy said, "or are you lying? Perhaps you are deceiving me?"

"No," he replied, "I tell you the truth, I shall certainly not deceive you. Please get me out."

So the young man really pushed the stone aside and with a stick also threw away the thorns which blocked the bonga up, all of them. The bonga then, they tell, came out. "Now please," the young man said to him, "be quick and give me your blessing; my cows won't be quiet."

Then, it is told, he blew into his ears and, having uttered some incantations, he made as if he washed his face. Thereupon the boy could see all bongas and also understand their talk. "There you see," the bonga said to him, "I have given you the blessing. Only be careful, don't tell this to anybody, don't tell it to your wife either. If you tell it, you will not any more be able to see them, and the ants' talk you will not be able to hear either. I tell you this."

The young man thereupon went towards the cows, and really and truly all the bongas who were there he could now see, and the talk of the ants he could also hear and understand.

Some time afterwards, they tell, a young man was seized with convulsions; they tried all kinds of medicines, but it was of no use; the boy did not in any way get better. Somehow or other the young man one day went towards the house of these people, saying to himself: "I should like to see that sick boy." When he came to the sick young man, he saw, look and behold, a bonga was sitting on his chest and throttling him<sup>7</sup>. The young man then quietly twisted his cloth into a rope and started beating the bonga with the cloth; he gave him a sound thrashing, and when he had driven the bonga away from there, the boy at once recovered.

From that time the young man was called a medicine-man<sup>8</sup>. Also when the bongas came to a place where they were eating oxen<sup>9</sup> he drove them all away, and from that time they were very much afraid of the young man.

<sup>9</sup> The Santals do not like, often do not dare, to mention certain things or persons by their proper names. Here 'oxen' is used metaphorically for 'human beings'. It is a common belief with them that the bongas 'eat' people. How this 'eating' is done they are unable to explain. They agree that such 'eating' is the cause of many deaths. But while some suppose that the bongas eat the liver and lungs (as the witches are believed to do), and others are of opinion that the bongas want the blood and nothing else (giving as proof that at sacrifices people eat the flesh of most sacrificed animals, the bongas getting the blood only), many take the expression to be equivalent to destroying or to causing death. Some consequently think that the 'eating' is done before death, others take

Ado kathae, uni korako bahuadea, ado uni bahu hōe tahē rophayena.

Khange kathae, miť din do tikin jokhen uni kořa do đuar then daka jojom kan tahēkana; unre onđege muć do daka jom lağıtko jarwayena. Unre kathae, barea muć do dakakin repeć kana arkin kaphariu kana. Ado uni kořa do arhō daka curućatkoa, ado kathae, unkin do bebarićkin jhograk kana. Ado unkin anjomte uni kořa do daka jom hōe thirena, ar muluć muluće landayet kana. Ar bahuttet do tan mane nehel kana; ado bae jivileťa, heć sorkateye kulikede, Cedak ham jometa ar cet onkam landayeta? Enan khon in neletmea, cet con muluć mulućem landayet kan. Ado mase laiańme, cetem landaketa.

Ado uni kořae menketa, Okor bań cet? Cet hō bań landa akata.

Ado ađiye jidketa, menketae, Mage laiańme, ar bańkhan in do bań tahena am then do. Am do okoe kuriko tuluć con menama; ona disatem landayet kana.

Ado uni kořae menketa, Ona do bań kana, etagak in don landa akata.

Ado uniye menketa, Ma ente laime. tobe khar in bataoa, ar bańkhan qhon bataolea.

Ado sari bae bataolet khane laiketa, bańma, Dakań hirićleta, ado ona then mućko jarwalena; ado nonka onka bogeteko kaphariu kana; ona anjomte in don landa akata.

Ado uni bahuttete menketa, Cekate onkoak roř dom anjomketa? Ale do okorle anjomettakoa.

Ado unre uniye menketa, Bań, qhon lailema. Miť hore men akawadińa, Okoe then hō alom lai baraea, am bahu then hō alo, ar bańkhan qhom anjomletakoa. Uni hor onkae men akawadińa, onaten metam kana, qhon lailema mente.

Ado bahuttete menketa, Ma laime, qho cekaka, ar in hō qhon lai baraea. In thenge bam lai khan, okoe thenem laia? Bam laiań khan, tobe amren hor don bań kana.

Ado onka ađi lekae kiriakede khane lai daporadea. Ado kathae, en hiloķ khon do bońga hō bae nel namkoa ar muć reak roř hō bae anjomtakoa.

Ado ene cabeyena katha do.

## 6. Mitťań bońga ar Hor kořa reak katha

Sedae jokhen, kathae, mitťań kořa gaiye gupi kan tahēkana. Ado tahen tahente, kathae, Aghar cando jokhen bir sen gaiye idi akatko tahēkana. Ado gai acure senlenre mitťań

It more literally, and think that they kill to feed on the dead body. What is here told is that, according to their belief, bongas may gather round a person dangerously ill to 'feed' on him, i. e. to cause his death. The 'hero' of the tale has received the gift of seeing the bongas, and makes use of his powers to chase the bongas away and consequently restore the patient to health.

<sup>10</sup> See p. 66, note 5. As a result of the way in which marriages are arranged with the Santals, it is always somewhat problematical whether the young people will hit it off or not with one another. When they do, it is often spoken of as here. It is always the girl who is supposed to have settled down and found her place in her new surroundings. Those who do not will generally run away.

<sup>11</sup> A common suspicion here used as a weapon.

<sup>61</sup> This story is, as will be seen, a variant of the preceding one. It is the same story told by some other people. It may be of interest to see, how it is varied. The story has many more details than the first one, all details giving a more coloured picture of Santal life and ideas. In the first story it was an expelled bonga which was set free. Here it is, strangely enough, the spirit of a dead man. The present-day Santals burn their dead ones, a custom which they tell they have adopted from the Hindus. They are, however, in certain cases buried, some for good, others only temporary. All children who have not been made full members of Santal society by

So they got a wife for the young man, and the girl also was content and stayed<sup>10</sup>. Now it happened one day at noon that the young man was sitting near the door, taking his food. Some ants came together there to eat rice, and two of them were trying to take rice from each other, and were bandying words; the young man then again gave them a little rice, and the two ants were quarrelling awfully. Listening to them the young man stopped eating and was smiling and laughing. His wife was staring at this, and when she could not restrain herself any longer, she went close to him and asked him: "Why don't you eat, and what are you laughing at in such a way? It is a long time I have been observing you, smiling and laughing at something. Do tell me, what is it you laughed at?"

"Why, nothing at all," the young man replied, "I have not been laughing at anything."

But she only persisted saying: "Do tell me, and if you will not, I shall not remain with you. You have certainly something to do with some girl or other<sup>11</sup>. You are thinking of that, therefore you are laughing."

"No, it is not that," the young man answered, "it is something else I am laughing at."

"Well then," she said, "tell it, so I shall give in to you; otherwise I shall never do that."

As she did not give in, he really told her and said: "I spilt some rice, and some ants came together at that, and quarrelled in such and such a way. It was hearing this that made me laugh."

"How is it," his wife asked, "that you could hear their talk? We other people, why, we do not hear what they talk."

"No," he answered, "I am not willing to tell that. Some one has said to me, 'Don't tell anybody, not your wife either, otherwise you will not be able to hear them.' That person has said so to me; therefore I tell you, I shall not let you know."

"Do tell me," his wife said, "it won't matter; I for my part shall, of course, not mention it. If you don't tell me, whom should you tell? If you don't tell it to me, I do not belong to you."

As she importuned and adjured him in this way, he finally told her. But from that day, they tell, neither did he see the bongas, nor could he hear the talk of the ants any more.

So the story is at an end.

## 6. A BONGA AND A SANTAL MAN<sup>1</sup>

ONCE upon a time in the old days, they tell, a young man was herding cows. So it happened that once in the month of aghār<sup>2</sup> he had taken the cows towards the forest.

the *caco chaṭṭar* ceremony being performed with them, are buried. Such become after death *bhuts*, which are supposed to be very small in size. People who die from cholera or smallpox are temporarily buried. When decomposition has set fully in — it does not take so long in an Indian climate —, the body is dug up and burnt. When a woman dies in childbirth or in pregnancy, the body is not burnt until the foetus has been removed. If such a woman remains buried, she becomes a *curin*, the same as the still-born child or the dead foetus. The *curin* is described as being very small and with a very large head. Both *bhuts* and *curins* are considered dangerous. The first ones harass and frighten people, taking on all kinds of shapes; the last ones are said to attack lonely people and suck their blood. All dead people are supposed to become bongas, except those who become *bhuts* and *curins* as described.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 69, note 2.

dhündre dō kurit rama bogete bele akane nelket khan dō ona jojome dhurauena. Gotetae kotoketae, gotetae kotoketae, ar retec retece jomet kana. Ar ona janum dhünd phedrege, kathae, tis jokhen con horko topaledea. Ona dō bae hudiset kana; eken dhiriko dōhō punji akat mae neletge; menkhan hōr topa dō bae badeta. Adō ona dhiriko cetanrege deçkate ona kurit rama bele dōe jomet kana. Dāre or liveteta ar gotkateye kotoket kana.

Adō un jokhen, kathae, onako dhiri bhitri khonge boŋga dō kathae rōr gotketa, Eya, Eya, men ocokme, lebetediñ kanam.

Khange uni kōra dō etak sen rōret lekae anjomkette ona dhiri khon argoyente ona dhünd latar sengeye oyon baraketa, adō cele hō bae nel namletkote arhō ona dhiri cetanrege deçkateye jomet kana. Khange uni boŋga dō arhō onkageye rōr gotketa. Khange uni kōra dōe meneta, Ayo, cele bae bheonayediniñ kan? Adō argokate onte noteye beŋget baraketa. Adō cele hō bae nel namletko khan, arhō ondege deçkateye jojom kana. Khange arhō onkageye rōr gotketa, Eya, Eya, men ocokmem lebetediñ kana.

Adō unre uni kōra dōe menketa, Okoc ya, pe boro ocon kan? Okor in nel nametpea?

Adō unre boŋgae menketa, Ma ocokme, nāhākem nel hameña.

Adō sariye ocoken khan, boŋga dō hōr lekae odokena. Adōe metae kana, en kathae, Bam nel hameñ kana?

Adō uniye menketa, Bañ nel nametmea. Ma adō cet lekateñ nel hammaea, ona laiañme.

Khangeye metadea, Ma se ber neleme, tin marañ menaea.

Adōe nelkede dō, huđiñ tara siñ ber menac. Adōe laiaadea, bañma, Ninak ber menaea.

Adō onteye beŋget ocokede jokhenge, kathae, cet cōe halañ gotketa. Adōe metae kana, Ma durupme. Adōe durup ocokede. Adō, kathae, cete con mēte hotorkettaea; gantharge, kathaeye or tokettaea. Khange kathaeye nel namkede. Khange adōe metadea, Mēt mam saphakettiñ; adō lutur saphakatiñme. Noko muç reak rōr bañ anjometa, jemōn onkoak rōr in anjomtako.

Adō unreye metae kana, Hē, sapha mañ saphaketamge, pašem lai? Judi jāhāe thenem laiketa menkhan dō, ale hō ohom nel nam dārelelea, ar onko muç reak rōr hō ohom anjom dārelelea.

Adō uni kōrae menketa, Ohon laia.

Arhōe metadea, Am bahu then porjonto alom laia.

Adōe menketa, Jonomre hō ohogen laile.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 69, note 3.

<sup>4</sup> See above, note 1. When people are buried, it is generally only in a shallow grave, and stones etc. are put on the top to prevent jackals and other animals getting at the dead bodies.

<sup>5</sup> The Santals divide the time according to the position of the sun and, at night, of the moon and stars, and name the time in accordance with this or with work done or food taken at the particular time.

<sup>6</sup> The covering which prevents ordinary people from seeing those of the other world.

When he went to turn the cows back he saw that there was, in a thicket, a kite's talon bush<sup>3</sup> full of ripe fruit, and commenced to eat. He plucked and popped into his mouth, plucked and popped, and crunched and ate. Now close to that thorn thicket, they tell, a man had been buried some time ago<sup>4</sup>. He had no thought of this; he saw, of course, that stones had been piled up; but he had no idea that it was a grave. He was standing on the top of the stone heap and was eating the fruit. He was pulling down the branches, plucking and popping into his mouth.

While he was thus occupied, it is told, the bonga suddenly called out from the midst of the stones: "I say, you there! I say, look out, take yourself off! You are trampling on me."

The young man heard it like some one speaking from some other direction, and stepping down from the stones he peered into the thicket below the branches; but as he did not catch sight of anybody, he stepped up on the stones again and commenced eating. Then the bonga called out again in the same way. "O mother", the boy said, "some one is making fun of me." He came down again and looked round in all directions; but as he was not able to see anybody, he stepped up there again and continued eating. Then the voice called out again in the same way: "I say, you there! I say, look out, take yourself off! You are trampling on me."

Now the young man said: "Who are you, you fellows, who are frightening me?"

"Please, step aside," the bonga replied, "you will see me presently."

When the boy stepped aside, the bonga really and truly came out in the form of a human being, and spoke to him. "Don't you see me?" he said.

"No," the young man said, "I am unable to see you. Please tell me, how I shall manage to see you."

"Please look at the sun," the voice replied, "how high up is the sun?"

The young man looked and saw that the sun was about half way down<sup>5</sup>, and said to him: "The sun is so and so high up."

While he made him look in that direction, the bonga picked up something or other and said to the boy: "Please sit down." When he had got him seated, he poked him in his eyes with something and pulled the covering film<sup>6</sup> away, whereupon the young man was able to see him. "My eyes," the man said, "you have certainly cleaned; clean my ears also. I cannot hear what the ants talk; please, that I may be able to hear their talk."

"Well," he replied, "I could certainly clean them for you; but perhaps you might let somebody know. If you told anybody, you would not any longer be able to see us, and you would not be able to hear the ants' talk either."

"I shall never tell," the boy said.

Again the bonga said: "Not even your wife must you tell."

"As long as I live," the young man replied, "I shall never tell."

Ado onka ekrarkate, kathae, luture onkede. Ado khangē, kathae, bongako hōe nēl namketkoa, ar mué reak galmarao hōe anjom thikketteye bujhauketakogea. Ado jāhāre mué gelece namketa menkhan, onde do durupkateye anjom mōnjkoa, ar mulué muluće landajōna. Ar bongako hō jotoye nēl namkogea. Daŋgra jom then hō, kathae, hōr leka onkako sē jarwaka. Khangē nui kōra dōe nēlleko khan, hogeteye dalkoa are laga nirkōa. Ado onkae dal bhirkauketko khan dō nuike nēlle khangē, kathae, onte nōte pico pocoko dārjōna.

Khangē onakate tin din badre cōn, kathae, acen gate kōra dō adi barić ruā kahilente miť din dōe baiyena, neye gujuk lagadoķ kana. Ado tikiŋ jokhen uni kōra dō gaiye aderkatkoteye durup akan tahēkana. Adoko laideā, baŋma, Amren gate kōra dōe bai akana; baŋdo nāhāķko bes dāreāe baŋdo baŋ.

Ado ona katha uni kōra dōe anjomket khan dōe menketa, Okoe tora eŋdekhan in nēl aguyea. Ado onka menkateye calaoena.

Ado racae boloyen khangēye hōhō sadeketa, Cele ho, menakpea sē baŋ? Ar aema hōr sē jarwa akante orakkore piŋḍakoreko durup bara akana. Ado uni gate kōaren eŋgattē dō nuiye nēlkede khan, rakate orak khone odokenteye metadea, Dela bābu, nōte bolokte gate kōra nēletam.

Khangē adoe boloyen khane nēlkede dō, miťaŋ bhut kōramreye durup akawadete hōtōke mocrāoettae. Khangē nui kōra dō ḍaḍare sili baber tahēkantaea. Ado onae rara goťkete ona silitege uni bhut dō carnaoe carnaokedea sē, bēbāriće carnaokedea. Khangē bhut dōe kikiāu goťketteye dāreť kana. Ado goťa orakē lagakedete orak khon laga odokkedete duar sēnte goťae carnao idikedete barge mucat hābiće carnao goťkadea.

Khangē uni gate kōra dōe pharnaotenteye durupēna. Ado dakaē khojketkote dakako emadea. Ado dakaē jomket khane bes utařena. Ado un khonko baḍaekedeā, nui hōe ojhaķgea mente.

Ado onakate tin din badre cōn, kathae, miť din dō orakre dō ac bahu eskargeye tahēkana. Ado en hilok tikiŋ jokhen uni kōra dō gai adakatkote ac bāhuge dake taḥadete daka jome abukente duar thenge daka jome durupēna. Ado ondege dakaē aguadete bāhuttēť do piḇḍareye durupēna. Ado uni kōra dō dakaē jojom kana, ar daka dō miť bar sakri hirić akana. Ado ona jom laģiť mōřē turui goťen mué dō ko jarwa akana. Ar onko mué dō ona dakako repec kana arko kaphariāu kana. Ado ona kaphariāu anjomte uni kōra dō daka jom jomkateye thiroķ kana, ar mōne mōnete mulué muluće landayēť kana. Ar uni landayēť nēlkede khan, bāhuttēť dōe menketa, Ceť am moťom landayēť kana?

<sup>7</sup> See p. 71, note 9. It is noteworthy that a human being is supposed to be able to chase away, not only one, but a crowd of spirits, when he can see them. It stands in absolute contrast to the very real fear which the Santals ordinarily have for the spirits. It is a common belief that disease may be caused by bongas who will 'eat', as it is called, that is, destroy human beings. What is here referred to is not the slaughtering and eating of bullocks. The expression is a figure. The 'bullock' means a human being, the 'eating' the disease supposed to be due to the inimical action of bongas.

<sup>8</sup> What is here described, is a very ordinary occurrence when somebody falls ill. Friends and relatives will come and sit watching, often crowds of them.

Having made the young man promise in this way, the bonga blew into his ears, and then, they tell, he could see the bongas and the talk of the ants he also could hear and understand. When he found traces of ants somewhere, he sat down there and enjoyed listening to them, smiling and laughing. The bongas he also saw, all of them. Where bullocks are being eaten, they also, it is told, come together, just like human beings<sup>7</sup>. When this young man saw them, he always gave them a good beating and drove them off. As he struck them in this way and frightened them away, the bongas, they tell, ran helter skelter away in all directions, as soon as they saw him.

After some time it happened that a boy companion of his became seriously ill, and one day he was seized with convulsions and was on the point of death. The young man had that day driven his cows into the cow-shed and was sitting down, when they came and told him: "Your friend has been seized with convulsions; it is uncertain whether they will be able to get him round or not."

When the young man heard this, he said: "Then I will at once go and see how he is," and saying this he went.

When he reached the courtyard, he called out: "Hallo there, are you here or not?" Now a large crowd of people had come together<sup>8</sup> and were sitting in the verandah<sup>9</sup>. As soon as the mother of his friend saw him, she came out of the house crying and said to him: "Come, my lad, come in here and have a look at your friend."

Having entered he saw him, and look and behold, a *bhut*<sup>10</sup> was sitting on his breast and twisting his neck. Now the young man had a hair rope round the loins; he untied this and commenced to lash the *bhut* with the hair rope; he gave him an awful lashing, so that the *bhut* screamed and ran away. He chased him round the house and out through the door, lashing him the whole way; he lashed him, until he drove him off at the end of the field on which the house was standing<sup>11</sup>.

Thereupon his friend recovered and sat up and asked for food which they gave him, and when he had taken food, he became quite well again. From that time people recognized that this young man could also do the work of an *ojha*<sup>12</sup>.

Some time, who knows how long afterwards it was, it happened one day that his wife was alone at home. At mid-day the young man had taken the cows to the resting-place<sup>13</sup>; his wife poured out water for him, and after having washed his hands he sat down at the door to take food. After having brought the rice to him there his wife sat down in the verandah<sup>14</sup>. As told, the young man was eating rice, and a few rice grains had fallen down from the plate to the ground. To eat these some five or six ants had come together, and these ants were fighting and quarrelling over the rice grains. Hearing this quarrel the young man again and again stopped eating and was smiling and laughing quietly by himself. When she saw him laugh, his wife said: "What are you laughing at alone by yourself?"

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<sup>9-14</sup> See pp. 78—79.



Adoë mēnketa, Cet hō bañ.

Ado bāhuttet do ađi jid kukliye dhurauena, kathae, Mage laiañme. Daka utu bañ jut in ematmea, se jutge, se cet lekam nelkidiña onatem landaketa, se cet iate?

Adoë mēnketa, Daka utu hō besge, am hō besge.

Adoë mēnketa, Tobe cetem landaketa? Ma laime.

Adoë mēnketa, Onañ landaket katha do lalai bañ ganoka.

Adoë mēnketa, Ma laime bare. Okoe then hō ohon lai baraea.

Adoë metadea, Ohon lailema.

Khange bāhuttete mēnketa, Tobe amren hor don bañ kana, toberege bam laiañ kana. Am do etakkom namjon kana, onage mone monetem landaketa, ar onatege bam laieta.

Adoë mēnketa, Ona do bañ kana. Am do aurige hona nhoam roreta.

Adoë mēnketa, Ente bam laiañ kan khan. Ma tobe laime, ar bam lai khan, in do ohon tahēlena. Apuñ barenteko orakteñ calaka.

Ar seye men akawadea, Okoe then hō alom lai baraea. Jāhām laiketa mēnkhan ado bam nel nam darealea ar muć reak ror hō ado ohom anjomletakoa. Ar bāhuttet se ađi jida jide kukli kana. Ado ađiye jidket khan, kathaeye lai daporadea. Ado kathae en hilok khon do boñga bhut hō bae nel nameťkoa, ar muć reak katha hō bae anjomettakoa. En hilok khon do joto maraontaea.

Ado kathae, ona tayom do ađi hor then onka ore ore laiatkoa, bañma, Nonka onkate nokoko don nel nameťko tahēkana, ar noko muć reak katha don anjomet tahēkana. Adon laiket khan joto cabayena.

Ar katha hō joto cabayena, in marańgea.

## 7. Boñga ańgen

Sedae jokhen, kathae, mitañ buru sendra gipitić pheđre mitañ mare pukhri tahēkana. Ado setak jokhen barea kořa tirio oron oronte ona pukhritege dak nūkin argolena. Khange boñga kuri do tamba sikrite unkin kořa do jańgareye tol gotketkina. Khankin ođoken khankin nelketa, sutam lekan sikriteye sikri akatkin. Adokin or topak gelak kana, bańge, kathae, topagok kan; ado dhiritekin kotec topaketa, ado enre hō, kathae, bañ topagok kan; ado orkin orketa se, aemakin or jarwaketa, enre hō bañ mucadok kan. Arhokin thirokre ma hante bhitritegeye or aderetkin kan. Khange bogetekin botorok kana.

<sup>9</sup> Most Santal houses have a verandah. The walls of the house stand on a plint which extends a little outside the wall, just enough to let a man sit there on his haunches, on three sides, and somewhat more on the side where the entrance is. Here the eaves of the roof are lengthened so as to form a roof over the verandah which is here. The verandah is often fairly large and does service for a room.

<sup>10</sup> See p. 70, note 7. — <sup>11</sup> See p. 52, note 15. — <sup>12</sup> See p. 70, note 8.

<sup>13</sup> The cattle as a matter of course graze the whole year round; they are let out early in the morning and brought back in the evening at nightfall. In the middle of the day they are always taken to some place, generally near the village, where there are trees that give shadow; here they lie down to rest for a couple of hours.

"Nothing at all," he answered.

His wife then commenced to ask and kept persistently on. "Please tell me. Was the rice and curry I gave you not good; or was it good, or what did you see with me, since you laughed? What is it?"

"The rice and curry is nice," he said, "and you are nice too."

"Then what did you laugh at? Do tell," she continued.

"It would not do," he replied, "to tell what I laughed at."

"Do tell," she persisted, "I shall not tell it to anybody at all."

"I cannot tell you," he replied.

"Then I do not belong to you," his wife said, "that is why you do not tell me. You are seeking others<sup>15</sup>; that is what you laughed at by yourself, and therefore you will not tell."

"No, it is not that," he replied, "you are talking rubbish at random."

"Well," she said, "since you do not tell me. Therefore do tell me, and if you don't tell, I will certainly not stay with you. I shall go to my father and brothers."

Now the bonga had warned him: "Don't tell anybody. If you tell anybody, you will not be able to see us any more, nor will you be able to hear the talk of the ants further." On the other hand his wife persisted in asking him, and when she kept on in this way, he at last told her in disgust. From that day, they tell, neither did he see the bongas and the bhuts, nor did he hear the talk of the ants. From that day all was utterly lost to him.

Afterwards he told everything from beginning to end to a good many people. "In such and such a way," he said, "I was able to see those, and I also heard the talk of the ants. When I told others of it, it all came to an end."

And now the story is also all come to an end. It is thus much.

## 7. SPIRITED AWAY BY BONGAS.

ONCE upon a time in the old days it so happened that there was an old tank or pond near the place where the annual hunt spent the night<sup>1</sup>. In the early morning two young men went playing their flutes down to the pond to drink water. Down there a *bonga* girl suddenly bound the feet of those two young men with a copper chain. When they got out of the pond, they saw, look and behold, she had chained them with a chain like a thread. They pulled and tried to tear it to pieces, but it would not break. Then they tried to break it striking it with a stone; still it would not break. Then they tried to pull it out; they pulled and pulled and pulled out a heap of it; still the end would not come out. And when they stopped pulling, she was pulling the chain down into the water again, and the two boys became very much afraid.

<sup>14</sup> The women first serve the men and eat, themselves, afterwards. It is of very seldom occurrence that a wife will sit down and take food at the same time as her husband.

<sup>15</sup> A common expression about men who are tired of their wives and are arranging to get some one else.

<sup>17</sup> Every year in the hot season — in the month of *balsak*, that is, from the middle of April to the middle of

Khange adō bogete kauma kin hōhō keŋ khan, disom hōrko nīr calaoena; adōkin laiketa, bañma, Onka nonkatē nonde doliñ hečlena, adō nōkōeye sikri akatliña. Adō noa sikri hañgeliñ topak dareak kana, sojhe bhitritegaye or aderetliña; ar orte hō bañge mucadok kana. Adō de, baba disom hōr, chađaokaliñpe.

Khange disom hōr orko orketa se, mimiť khāclakko or puñjiketa, enre hō bañge mucadok kan.

Khange kamarko aguketkoa. Onko hō kotēć kotēćteko lañgayena; bañge topagok kan.

Adō unkin koraren apatteko dihriko sapkedeā, adō uni hō sunum boñgakate boñgae sapkedeā, are mananketa; enre hō bae añjomleta. Adō dihriye menketa, Noa dō, baba, in hotete ohō hoelena. Nukin koṛa dō bae araketkina, idikingaye meneta. Ma adō apege je lekagepe budet.

Adō unkin korakin menketa, Aliñren bhayadi menakpe khan, do orakte calakpe, ayo buđhiā aguyepe. Jivetre mēt mētliñ nepollenge; adō ghuriā ohōe nellina.

Adō sari bhayadiko calaoena orakte, ar disom phad doko uñhauena, ar unkin koraren perako dō endegeko tahēyena. Adō buđhiā hōrko aguketkina, ar unkin sāote aema hōrko heč darayena; adō bogeteko rak baraketa, ar unkin koṛa dō dahe tabenko jom ocoketkina, ar je kichu ākinak sapap tahēkana, jotoko agukattakina, adōkin deñga pherao barayena arko cokatkina.

Adō khange ona sikriteye or gotketkina, adō jemone oretkina, temonkin calao idik kana. Ar onko dō ghutūre teñgokateko heñel kana, dañdate, hatlakte, hotokte, adōkin unumena, heñ atketkinako. Adō rak barakateko ruar hečena.

Adō one onka dakren boñga añgen reak katha dō. Ar adom hōr dō dare dođhore hōko añgen bolō akangea.

Adō eneñ puraketa katha dō.

May -- the Santals have their large tribal hunts. All males who can go hunting. A man called *dihri* (possibly a Dravidian word, as *dihri* in Malto means a priest) is the leader, superintendent, priest and president of this hunt. He fixes date and place of meeting, performs the necessary sacrifices and presides at the nightly assembly, where all matters of public interest, specially concerning the people as such, as e. g. outcasting of Santals, are discussed and settled. Here all are as good as everybody else, a servant has the same rights as an overchief. This nightly council is their High Court, the Santals say. The people start on a Wednesday morning, hunt through a forest and meet in the evening at a place fixed by the *dihri*, called *gipitić*, that is, the place where they lie down, or pass the night together. Very few people sleep though. Many attend the sitting of the high council just mentioned. Especially the young people spend the night in all kinds of jollifications, drumming, playing the flute, singing and shouting. This part of the nightly doings may be, and generally is, on a low level. These hunt councils have in former days played a very important part in the tribal life of the Santals; like a good many other matters they are not any more what they used to be. The place of the *gipitić* is always chosen near some place where water is to be had.

<sup>2</sup> When Santal individuals address an assembly sitting in council, they will frequently use the word *baba*, father, to show respect.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 58, note 10. The *dihri* is the proper person to act at the hunt.

<sup>4</sup> Vows are often made; a sacrifice or other specific performance is promised, to be given when what is asked for comes to pass.

The young men called out and made a great uproar and the whole hunt came running; they told their tale: "In such and such a way we two came here, and look, she has chained us both, and we are utterly unable to break this chain; she is pulling us straight into the water, and when we try to pull it out, there is no end to the chain. Please, honoured country-men<sup>2</sup>, do deliver us."

The collected hunters thereupon pulled and pulled they each pulled a whole basket full; still there was no end to the chain.

Then they brought blacksmiths, and they hammered and beat, until they were tired; the chain would not break.

The fathers of the two boys then got hold of the hunt priest; he consulted the oil-oracle<sup>3</sup> and caught the bonga. He made a vow<sup>4</sup>; still she would not listen, and the hunt priest said: "This cannot, sirs, be solved through me. She does not set these two boys free; she intends to take them away. Please, therefore, you yourselves do whatever you think."

The two boys then said: "If any brothers<sup>5</sup> of ours are here, do go home and bring our mothers. We wish to meet them once more while we are alive; they will not see us any more."

Their brothers then went home, and the army of hunters also left; but the relatives of the two boys remained there. The two mothers were brought, and together with these two a large number of people came. They wept bitterly; so they gave the two boys *curds*<sup>6</sup> and *taben*<sup>7</sup> to eat, and whatever belonged to those two of implements and tools<sup>8</sup>, they brought it all; so the two boys put on fresh loin clothes, and they kissed them.

Thereupon the bonga suddenly started pulling them with the chain, and as she was pulling, they went along. Standing on the bank others were looking on; they went down to the loins, up to the armpit, to the neck, then they were submerged. They saw them disappear. Then, having cried bitterly<sup>9</sup>, they came back home.

Such is the story of people being spirited away by water bongas. Some people have also been spirited away and taken into hollow trees.

Now there I have finished that tale.

<sup>5</sup> Cousins, second cousins, &c., are also styled brothers.

<sup>6</sup> Curds, the same as kephir, commonly used among the Santals.

<sup>7</sup> See p. 54, note 4.

<sup>8</sup> It is customary at cremation to let all kinds of things accompany the dead one. These goods are put with the body on the bedstead, when it is carried away. Before fire is put to the funeral pyre, the things are all taken away and sold at a kind of auction immediately after the cremation, the money thus realized being spent to buy food or rice-beer for those who have assisted at the cremation. The goods are supposed to be of use in the other world. What is here related evidently refers to the custom mentioned, only that the two young men here take their implements with themselves directly.

<sup>9</sup> The women at the time of death and afterwards occasionally start lamentations, always using a fixed kind of melody, varying the words according to need and circumstances. The men do not wail in this way, but often give way to inarticulate and bitter crying.

## 8. Boŋga tuluć bapla akan hōr reaŋ

Noa boŋga bapla, kathae, sedae dō ađi canke tahēkana, ar boŋga hō hōr ieka sōdorko dārā barae kan tahēkana, ar hōr tuluć hōko galmarao kan tahēkangea. Ar nitkate dō thōra etaŋ nōk akana, onka sōdōr dō bako galmarao kana. Hē, ađi sōndhe miť bar hōr tuluće. Ar noa reak kahniteť dō pē pon goťen gan dōh bađaea. Ona hō aika hōr laiak kathage, sari baŋdō nase, onka hōrko laieta. Acha, adō miťtaŋ nētar kin bapla akan ar uni hōrteť hō jiveťge menaea, ona reak kathage lahate dōh lai pahileta. Ona dō nonka kana.

Nia Jamkandōr atorege Ramacyić miťtaŋ kōra menaea, ar Pađum dōc hijuk sēnok kante janiće bađaegea; ar uni kōra hō pasēte nēl akadege cōn cēť cōn. Adō uni reak katha dō nonka kana. Ona Jamkandōr pachim nakhare gađa sōđōk phēdre miťtaŋ dhiri huťup menaka. Ona dō jaŋge dhiriko nūtum akata; oŋe Pađume nam akat sokra latar munucať tēnge menaka.

Adō kathae, ona dhiri tēn dō kuři boŋga menaea. Sedae onakore bir tahēkan jōkhen dō, kathae, gidra kuři leka ona dhirikoreye duťup baraea. Ar oka hilōk oka hilōk dō, kathae, hōre nēlleko khan dō thārire daka ar baťire jel utu sajaokateye ođokkak kan tahēkana. Adō jāhāege herēl hōpon oŋteko senlēn khan dōc metakoa, Ne, pera, daka jōmkatiŋpe, ađi jut iŋ daka utu akata. Ne sē ente, jōm gelaktiŋ me, cēť leka bhalaŋ isin aro akata. Onka kathaeye metako kan tahēkana. Adō kathae, bōtōrte cele hō daka jōm bako rēbēna; ar uni dō onka ađi ajičkateye metakoa, ēnre hō bako jōmtaca.

Ar kathae, ona jōkhen dō atore jāhāe tēn bapla biha kamko oramle khan, ar thāri baťitem oկulanōk khan dō, kathae, ayup jōkhenem calaoena arem mēn ođokata, Gapanōk iŋ tēn perako hijuk kana; thāri baťiteŋ oկulanōk kana; emahme, gapaŋ iditama. Enka rōr ođokate, kathae, ēn hilōk dōm ruar hēcēna. Adō dosar hilōk, kathae, am dō bhāriā khāclāk ante setak jōkhen khātirjoma calao gōđokme, adō kathae, ona dhiri caťanire gađa guđ ođok jarwa akatem nam gōđa, adō cure mar khāclākrem bhoraoketa. Adō tin dinem dōhōea, iŋa katham rōr ođokata, adōm agukeťge. Ar idikak hilōk dō, kathae, jōtōge nēl nēltem maŋjao saphaketa, jēmōn sakri dō oka tēn hō alo taheŋ. Adō onka arik parik gitil maŋjaokate ayup jōkhen arhō ona dhiri caťaniregem idikataea, arem rōr ođokata, Thāri baťiŋ idilettama, adō nōkōc iŋ agukattama; ma baetam. Adō enka mēn ođokate adōko ruar hēcēnge. Adō kathae, oŋe onka sedae dōc ēmōk kan tahēkana.

<sup>1</sup> The bunch of stories given under this heading are, as will be seen, not folk-tales in the ordinary meaning of the word. They have, however, been included here for several reasons. They give an excellent insight into the Santal mind and way of thinking and partly living; they show how strong a hold superstition has on them; they may possibly give an indication of how stories of the kind here told have originated, both how they may be due to superstitious misunderstandings, and how they have been adapted by the local story-tellers. The last of the three tales is so intensely realistic and at its close pathologically so correct, that one cannot avoid thinking that some real happenings are related.

It might be mentioned that the Santal who has written this down is an otherwise sensible man, a bit of a philosopher with a tendency to "preaching". The stories here related are written down, because he was especially requested to tell what he knew. Most Santals have some belief in the possibility of such happenings as those related, perhaps not quite so much in evidence now as was the case formerly.

8. TALES OF SANTALS WHO HAVE MARRIED BONGAS<sup>1</sup>

To be married to a *bonga* was formerly, it is told, of frequent occurrence; then the bongas were also walking about openly like human beings; they were also talking with people. Now at the present time this has become somewhat seldom; they do not thus openly enter into conversation with people, well, very sparingly with one or two. I know some three or four stories about this matter; only remember, they are stories which people tell; whether they are true or not, people tell them so. Well then, there is a man who has been married (he is still living), about whom I am first going to tell. It is as follows.

In the village of Jamkandor lives a young man named Ram. Padum<sup>2</sup> constantly visits that village, so he is likely to know of it; he has perhaps also seen this young man. His story is as follows. In the neighbourhood of Jamkandor to the west near a river bed there is a rock, which they call the bar-stone. It is at the lower end of the *sokra*<sup>3</sup> that Padum has acquired.

At that rock, they tell, there is a bonga girl. Formerly when there was forest in those parts, they tell, she was in the habit of sitting on those stones in the shape of a small girl. Now and then, they tell, when she saw people, she was in the habit of putting rice on a brass plate and meat-curry in a brass bowl and setting this out, and when any man came that way, she said to them: "Please, my friend, partake of my rice; I have prepared some very nice meat-curry. Do please then, just taste and feel how I have prepared food". In this way, they tell, she spoke to them; but they were afraid, and no one would eat her rice. In spite of her beseeching them in this manner they did not take her food.

It is further told that if people at that time had commenced to make the necessary preparations for a marriage in the village, and they ran short of brass plates and cups, then you might go there in the evening and say: "To-morrow guests are coming to me; I have not enough brass plates and cups; lend me some, I shall take them away to-morrow." After having said this you came away that day; the next morning you might confidently go with shoulder-stick and baskets, and you would find heaps put out on that rock, and you might fill your baskets as quickly as you liked. Then you just stated how many days you would keep the goods, and so you came away. The day you took it all back, you had to look very carefully and scour and clean them all, in order that no leavings of food<sup>4</sup> should remain anywhere. Having scoured them all with sand and made them spotlessly clean you took her goods and put them back again on that rock in the evening and said, as you did so: "I took your brass plates and cups away, and here I have now brought them back again. Put your things safely away." Having spoken in this manner you came away. In this way, they tell, she was in the habit of lending formerly.

<sup>2</sup> Padum to whom is referred as a witness was for more than twenty years in the service of the present writer, up to his death some years ago. The village Jamkandor is some eight miles away from the writer's home in India. Padum's land was in this village.

<sup>3-4</sup> See p. 84.

Ado kathae, okoe cõn miť dhao doe aguleť tahēkan. Ado idikak jokhen bes do bako mañjao saphaleťa, okakore cõn sakrige tahēyen. Ado kathae, un khon ona thari baťiko do bae emok kana. Ar inakťege bir hõ řandiyena, joto poťor cabayena.

Ado kathae, nāhākkate uni Ramaeyiē kořa do cekakote cõe bulau oco akan, bañdo uniak daka utugeye jomkeťtae, bañdo cetťeye bulau akan, onako do bañ kuli bara akadete bañ bađae akana. Ar uni kořa hõ menaegea, calao hijuk kangeae. Dinre bar belakateye calak kana, tikin jokhen miť dhao do, ar miť dhao do ayup jokhen.

Ar kathae, oka hilok do uni bońga kuřige mañjhi hopõnera chinteye hijuk kana, ado note khon miťtege calakko nelkina. Ado ona dhirikokin tiokle khangem nel adea. Ar onđe seťerkatem senlen khan arem menle khan, Bhala cetkin cekayeta, se cetkin galmarao kana? Delabo ańjom agukina; adom senlen khan, hortet do bam nel namea, menkhan ror reak arańtet dom ańjomgea. Ado pustau bañ ańjom řhikoka. Arem menle khan, Bhalań tārāk-koka; oka řhen khone bolok kana neleañ, ado řher hor onkako tārāk gela akana; ado bańgeko nel bolõ dareaea. Neleako mente tikin jokhen hõ, kathae, řher horko tārāka, arko menkaka, Joto hortebon tunkhiyea, bhala oka řhen khone bolok kana mente. Ado kathae, horko tahenre hõ nui kořa doe calao godokgea; ado řheńga ar tirio do ghuťureye doho goťkatge; ado hako capo mente gađa sene argo godoka. Ado hina bhuk hõe soga, nhia bhuk hõe soga, ado enka enkategeko nel atkedege. Ado sen sorokťeko nelea arko mena, Honda ya, neńdegebo nelledea, ado bhalae oka goťena? Adoko nel atkedeae, bako nam dareadea. Ar ror ma bhitrire gandar gundurko ańjometge. Ado bar ghonťa gan amdař onđeye tahēyenge, arhõe ođok heťenge. Ado nitre hõ onkako nel akadea, ado kuli tho okoe hõ bako kuli akadea, ekenko nel hape akadegea.

Ado onę onka niā Jamkandorre do nelak kathako laieta. Kāhni do bañ kana. Ar uni kořa do nit hõ menaegea, ar jaoge onkae calak kangea. Ado niāťak katha doń cabakeťa.

Arhõ onka bońga tulućko bapla akan hor reak kathage. Ar nelak katha kangea, ar uni hor hõ nit hābiē menaegea. Uni hor do hana Pař disomre Kusba hať khon paćhim sen buru kocare Kesaphuli ato menaka. Ona atore gońgońťeko menakkoa. Ar uni gońgoń hopõn kořa doko pe boehaka, ar kuři dokin bar horgea; jotore mōřõ boehawako. Ado uni huđiń kořa do kađa bitkile gupi kan tahēkanre do tirio bebařice qronet tahēkana. Ar uni kořa do Sunawaea.

<sup>3</sup> Sokra is the name given by Santals to a low area or depression in sloping ground, in which rice-fields have generally been prepared. It is too small to be called a valley.

<sup>4</sup> Elsewhere these "people" are described as taking human food. It seems to be leavings that she detests.

<sup>5</sup> The whole story may have its explanation here.

<sup>6</sup> At certain times of the year it is not uncommon for people to catch fish and crabs in the manner described. There is very little water, and the fish etc. may be found in small cavities in the bank and are easily caught with the hands.

<sup>7</sup> A characteristic trait with the Santals; they do not like to tackle a delicate matter directly, and may do as here described.

<sup>8</sup> The flute is the most common musical instrument with the Santals, and there are few boys that cannot play it. The ordinary flute is made from bamboo, with seven holes, one of these for blowing. Especially young men who

Then it once happened, they tell, that somebody had borrowed from her, and when he brought them back again, they had not scoured and cleaned the things properly; here and there a few leavings of food remained. From that time, they tell, she does not give these brass plates and cups any more. By that time the forest had also been cut down; the whole country had become denuded of trees and bare.

But at the present time, they tell, the young man Ram has somehow or other — who can tell how — been seduced, whether it has happened through his eating her rice and curry, or it has been through some other means, — he has not been asked about this, so it is not known. The young man is living; he goes and comes. He goes to the place twice daily, once at noon, and again once in the evening.

They further tell that this bonga girl now and then comes in the likeness of the daughter of the village headman<sup>5</sup>. People see them from near the village walking together; but when they reach that rock, he disappears out of sight. And if you go right up there and say by yourself: "What are they doing?" or: "What are they talking together?" then you will not be able to see anybody; but you may hear the sound of voices, although it cannot be heard distinctly. If you say you will watch and see from where he enters, then many people have tried to lie in wait in this way; but they have been utterly unable to see him enter the rock. In order to see him, they tell, many people go to watch also at noon time, and say: "We shall, all of us, keep him in sight and find out from where he enters the rock." But even if the people remain there, the young man goes straight on, puts his stick and flute on the river bank and then goes down to the river to catch fish with his hands<sup>6</sup>. He puts his hand into one hole, and then into another, and in this way they lose sight of him. Then they go near to the place and look for him and say to each other: "I say, how is this? Here on this spot we saw him; what in the world became of him?" They lose sight of him and are not able to find him, while they hear someone speaking inside in low tones. The boy then remains for about two hours, whereupon he again comes out. Quite recently they have also seen him in this way; still they have not put any questions to him, they have only seen him and kept quiet<sup>7</sup>.

Such is what they have seen in Jamkandor, which I have here told. It is not a fairy-story. This boy lives at the present day, and he is constantly going and coming in this way. Now I have finished this story.

Here is another story of a man who has been married to a bonga girl. This is also something which has been seen, and the man concerned is also still living. This man lives in the Paṛ country to the west of Kusba-haṭ up against the hills in the village of Kesaphuli. The family of my father's elder brother lives in this village. This uncle of mine has three sons; he has two daughters. They are in all five brothers and sisters. The youngest son was in the habit of constantly playing the flute<sup>8</sup>, while he was herding the buffaloes. The name of this young man is Suna.



Khange ñelme se, miññan ul jharnaren kuñi boñga doe bulauente uni korareye lañkaoena. Khange miñ din do kaða bitkilkoe gasao baraketkote tara siñ ber do ona ul jharna sengeye mohña goñkatkoa. Ar un jokhen do Baisak cando tahēkana. Khange kaða bitkil doko lahayena, ac do um baraktegeye tayomena. Ado tiriq oron oronte tayom tayomteye pañja idiyetkoa. Ar ona jharna cetan then do miñ goñen marañ utar dhiri cañani menaka. Ado ona cañani cetanrege uni boñga kuñi doe duñup akana.

Ado uni korae sen seteren khan doe ñele kana, ñhik ñhak aceren talayic hilittet lekage. Adoe ñelkede khan doe menkeñ, Ayo! teheñ de ac eskar cet lagat nonde do heckateye duñup akana, se bhala dadañ hō menaea? Adoe beñget baraket do, celege banukko. Khange adoe menkeñ, Okoe tora bhala senkateñ kuliyea ac eskargeae, se okoe tuluće hec akana, se usatgeye hec akana. Senkateñ kulilege. Ado onka menkate uni thene sen sorenteye kulikede, Henda hili, cedak am eskar nonde dom duñup akana? Ukurić dadañ do?

Ado uniye menkeñ, Hē, dadam do banugica; in eskargen hec akana.

Adoe metadea, Cedakem hec akana?

Ado uniye menkeñ, Am tuluće miññan galmarao menaka, onateñ hec akana ar in pañja akatmea.

Adoe metadea, Cet galmarao? Din hilok con miñ thenge menakbon, ar ayup do ban calakte noa bir pakar dom sendrayedin kana? Cet lekan katha kana, ma laime. In don hudisketa, paset usatgeye hec akan con cet con. Ado onem menet, miññan katha badatten panja akatmea; ado ma se lai hodme, cet lekan katha kana.

Ado uniye menkeñ, Katha do adi jut katha kana. Ado nahakem khusiatiñ bañdo bañ, bejae tergen macha lekam roreta. Bañdon laiamre ganok bañdo bañ lai. Am then laia mente noa birre sendra nametmeten hec akana, ado am hona etakgem metañ kana. Ado inak katham dohoe khan in rora, ar bam dohoe khan do bañ rora.

Ado uni korae menkeñ, Ma cet katha kana hare phare ror hodme. Idi oto kamañ. Mañ heketā, rorme, añjomgetamañ. Ar se ñhik arañ hō uniak arañ lekageye añjomketa.

Ado unreye menkeñ, Ia hudiñic, katha do noa kana: teheñ do am tuluć ror landae lagat mon calao akantiña. Menkeñ, okare bañ nui don ñame? Ado onate am nam namtege noa bir pakar don sendra agu akatmea.

Ado uni korae menkeñ, Hē ma hēge, hili; pase dadañe baðaelañ, bae edrealaña?

Ado uniye menkeñ, Cekate bañ uni doe baðac? Nel ñhikokak seye oroma. Cekateye baðaca? Ado amgem lai barae khangeye baðaelaña. In do jonomre hō ohogen lailea.

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are out herding buffaloes at night, may be heard playing the flute incessantly. They enjoy it and likely think others do the same.

<sup>9</sup> The well-known mango tree, *MANGIFERA INDICA*, L., generally planted.

<sup>10</sup> See p. 79, note 1.

<sup>11</sup> *Hili* is the wife of an elder brother; the relationship between her and the younger brothers of her husband is what is called *landa sagal*, see p. 63, note 7. They are generally on very intimate terms. A kind of polyandry may be found here. If a *hili* should live with a younger brother of her husband, no one seems to say anything, provided the husband will allow it.

Now then listen, a bonga girl living in a spring at a mango<sup>9</sup> tree fell in love with that young man and clung to him. It happened one day that he, after having scrubbed the buffaloes and buffalo cows, in the early afternoon drove them towards that mango spring. It was in the month of *baisak*<sup>10</sup>. The buffaloes got in front of him, he himself fell behind bathing, and, playing the flute as he went along, he followed after them in their tracks. Now, just above the spring mentioned there is a very large rock, and on that rock this bonga girl was sitting.

When the boy reached the place, he saw her, exactly like the wife of his second oldest brother. When he caught sight of her, he said: "O mother, for which purpose has she come here alone to-day and is sitting there? or perhaps my elder brother is here also?" But when he looked round, no one was to be seen. He then said: "I shall go at once and ask her whether she is alone, or with whom she has come, or perhaps she has come because she sulks. I shall go and ask her first of all." Having this in mind he went up to her and asked her: "I say, *hili*<sup>11</sup>, why are you sitting here alone? Where is my brother?"

"Well," she replied, "your brother is not here; I have come alone."

"Why have you come?" he asked her.

"I have a matter to talk with you about," she replied, "therefore I have come and followed you here."

"What kind of talk?" he asked; "why, we are every day together in one place, and as I do not go anywhere in the evening, why do you hunt me up here in the jungle? What kind of matter is it? Let me hear. I thought that you had perhaps come sulking. Now you say that you have followed me on account of something; tell then at once what kind of a matter it is."

"Oh, it is a very nice matter," she replied; "the question is whether you will be pleased with what I have to say or not; you are so nagging in your way of speaking. Who knows whether it will do for me to tell you, or perhaps I should not tell. I have come and hunted you up in this forest in order to tell you, and then you are saying that other thing to me. If you will listen to me, I shall speak; if you will not, I shall not."

"Well," the young man said, "what is it? say it quickly. I shall see you back home. I agree; please speak; I shall listen to you." Now her voice was also exactly like the voice of the other girl.

"I say, small one," she replied, "it is this: to-day my mind has gone out to talk and laugh with you. I said to myself: wherever shall I be able to meet him? That is why I have hunted you up here in the jungle."

"Quite so, *hili*," the young man said; "but perhaps my brother will find us out, will he not then be angry with us?"

"How should he know?" she replied; "he will only recognize what can be seen. How should he be able to know? Well, if you will tell, then, of course, he will know. I for my part shall never tell at all."

Ado uniye menketa, Dal ocok lagat in laia? In ki botor banuktiña?

Ado uniye menketa, Ote con, endekhan joto kathalan gulandketa. Ma tobelañ hako pakoea. Ado enekin kaj baraketa.

Ado khangе mon do cekayentakin con, mit then khon alo chapaðaoкge sanayetkina. Ado cetko cоkin galmarao kan, menakkinge. Ar kaða bitkil ho inakorege palakoko jojom kan, menakkoge. Ar nukin ho khildu khamða kan menakkinge, orakte kole hoe hirinketa; nuhum habic menakkinge. Ado uni korawak mon cekakote con acurentae, disakete nuhumen. Adoe metadea, Durre! bam senlena. Nit do okoe tulucem calaka? Delañ mittege; noko holañ laga torakoa. Ar nāhāk dhorage teheñ do orakreko nam barayetme kana, ar nāhāk dadañ doe dal goe utarlaña.

Ado uniye menketa, Ohoe dallaña. Uni do mit ghariteñ ere godea.

Ado enka menkate enekin laga aguyetkoea. Ado ina kulhi mucatre khangeye metadea, Ia huðinić, ma am do laga agukom, in don lahak kantalaña. Bhalañ anjomkoa, cetkoko edren kana mente. Mitte do balañ seteroka.

Adoe metadea, Ma tobe khan lahakme. Ado enka menkate uni doe kol lahakedea. Ado ende khone pharakena, adoe okayen con. Ar uni kora do bae baðaeleta, nui doe boñga kuři kana mente do.

Ado aditet uni boñga kuři doe parkaena. Jaoge uni hilit chintekin napama, ar oka do orak khon hoe beret idiyea, ado enrehō bañgeye pohom dareae kana. Ado bochor din lekakin tahēyena.

Khangе mit din do tala ninda jokhen orak khone beret odokkedea. Ado kathae, barge duar thenge odokok lekae disaleta, ado cekaе bhul gotkede con. Ado nelme se, oka okate coe idi gotkedete ona ul jharna cetan dhiri cañanire senkatekin durup akan arkin monjjoñ kan.

Ado tin oktere con, kathae, uni korawak disa do acurentaete ona ul dareko jharna sodokko ar cañanikoe beñget barawat khane menketa, Durre! noa tala ninda okareye, agu akadiña? Nui hiliñ do thik hor doe bañ kana. Nui doe oka lekan hor kan con. Nonka uni kora do ac monē moneteye hudisketa.

Ado arhō, kathae, mit ghari khangе tinre con orakrekin hec goten. Ado arhō mit ebhen gitićkate ena sim doko rakketa. Ar uni doe okayen con, ac eskargeye gitić akan. Ar ona katha uni kora do monre tahēyentaea. Ado setak baskeak ber khangе uni kora do hilitte kulikedea. Metae kanae, Henda hili, teheñ ninda do okatem idilidiña?

<sup>12</sup> The Santals generally have some food standing from last evening's meal; this is eaten cold in the forenoon. It is so common that the middle of the forenoon, about 9 a. m., is called the time of (eating) this.

<sup>13</sup> The Santals will always avoid using proper names, using some name denoting relationship or the like instead. Here it is literally "the youngest", viz. son in the family. See the writer's 'Taboo and Customs connected therewith among the Santals', *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. LXVII, part III. 1898.

<sup>14</sup> See p. 58, note 10.

The young man then said: "Should I tell to get a beating? I should perhaps not have any fear?"

"Well then," she said, "so we have made the matter nice and round."

After this it is difficult to tell what happened to them. They wished always to be together; they were talking something or other, and there they were. The buffaloes were also eating leaves of trees there in the vicinity, and there they stayed. And these two were flirting and dallying the whole time, and he quite forgot to send her home; they stayed in this way until after sunset. Then somehow the boy came to his senses and remembered that it was getting dark. So he said to her: "Hallo, you did not go! With whom will you now be able to go? Come let us go together, then we shall drive these along also. They are surely looking for you to-day at home; my brother will thrash us both to death."

But she replied: "He will not beat us at all. I shall put him off in a moment."

After this talk they drove the buffaloes along. When they reached the end of the village street, she said to him: "I say, small one, now you drive them along, I am going on in advance. I shall like to hear them, what they are angry for. We shall not come there together."

"Get along then," he said to her, and with this he sent her in advance. So from there she took herself off, and then who knows what became of her. But the young man did not know that she was a bonga girl.

This girl now became quite familiar with him. They constantly met, she always in the likeness of his sister-in-law. Sometimes she even awakened him and took him away from home. Still he was not able to make her out. They remained like this for about a whole year.

Then it once happened that she awakened him and took him away from home at midnight. The young man seemed to remember that he went out by the opening leading out to the field in which the house was standing; but then somehow she made him lose sight of realities. Somehow or other she took him away to the rock just above the mango spring, and they were sitting there.

Then after some time the young man came to his senses, he looked and saw the mango trees, the spring and ravines and the rocks and said: "Hallo, where has she taken me to now in the middle of the night? This *hili* of mine is not a good woman." The young man was thinking so with himself.

Then a short while afterwards, they tell, they somehow all at once reached home again, and only after he had slept and awoke again the cock crowed, and then she had disappeared. This matter remained in the young man's mind, and at the time of eating the remainders from last evening's meal<sup>12</sup> he asked his sister-in-law: "Look here, *hili*, where did you take me to last night?"

Ado uni hilit erae menkefa, Okor ho, in do tinren idilefmea? In do okate ho ban riaw idi akafmea. Auriakte in do alom doseha.

Ado unreye menkefa, Okoe con, hili, tehen nindai beret idilidiha hana ul jharna cetan catanite. Sinam am leakageye neloka, ar ror ho am leakage, landa ho am leakage. Onate am don kulikam kana, okatem idilidiha mente.

Ado tirit leka uni doe menkefa, Jonomre ho, huini, in do ban idi akafmea ar beret ho ban beret akafmea. Ma honec sunum sakam nel ocoeme.

Adoe menkefa, Baña, hili, sunum sakam do qhon nel ocolea. Am ho bam laiet khan, ma bogeyena. Tobe khan okoe coe idilidiha.

Ar hilit era do tirit lekae metae kana, Baña, babu, in do bangeh idi akafmea. Dhorae bongka kange con cet con. Unige pasen in chinteye idilefme.

Ado uni korae menkefa, Acha nahak in biqauca. Judi tehen nindai beredin khan do, ban calaka; ar adiye jid khan do, ape nahak in hohopea.

Adoe metadea, Ma nahak hohome, dadam in laiaea, ado cirgalgeliñ tahena. Ado inak galmarakategekin thirena.

Ado ona katha hilit era doe laikafa. Metae kanae, Tehen ma bhala huini do in chinte okoe coko beret idiledete hana ul jharna catanite, kathaeye idiledea. Ado tehen setak jokhen bogateye dhora marayedin kana, amgem idilidiha mente. Adon metae kana, Henda ho, in do tinren idilefmea? In tho ban disayeta. Ar cet lagat ban idime? Bam patiauk kan khan, ma ente sunumko bongka bara ocoeme. Adoe menkefa, He, sunum sakam do qhon nel ocolea. Ente ror ho landa ho sinam am leakage, onate in do amgen badefmea. Ado arhoe menkefa, Acha, tobe khan tehen ninda nahake beredin khan don hohoea, ado gonehe. Ado unre in hon metae kana, Acha besge, hohome. Noa katha do dadam hon laiaea. Ado bana hor jemon cirgalliñ taheñ. Onate am ho noa katha don laiam kana, jemonlan disaye.

Ado uniye laiaide khan, uni do sanam hor thene sodor gotkafa. Khange en hilok khon sanam hor sontorko tahcyena. Arko menkefa, Hape bon thir hataroka ar sontorbon tahena, sari se naseko beredefe kana. Nelkoabon sebon anjomkoa. Ado inakkatege en hilok doko thir barayena. Ado ayup ninda khange unkinak tak nela mente sanam hor cirgalge menakkoa.

Ado sari tala ninda khange uni bongka kuri doe hec gotena. Ado tinre con uni korã thene bolõ goten. Bolok jokhen do okoe ho bako disa bolõledea. Ado uni korã thene senenteye beredefe kana, are metae kana, Delan hante bahre senlan odokoka. Ado beretente uni korã doe durupena, ar ror do cet ho bae ror sadeyeta. Ado onteye riawede kan khan, uni korã do hilitete hohodea. Ado sari unkin ho cirgalgin tahẽkante, jemono hoholefa, temongekin gon gotkedete beret tora divheko jeret marsal gotkafa. Adoko arsal barayede kan doe ac eskarge. Adoko kulikede, Henda ya, cet lagatem hoholefa?

13-14 See p. 88.

15 See p. 92.

"Why," she replied, "when did I take you anywhere? I have not asked you to come anywhere with me. You are putting blame on me without any cause."

"Somebody, *hili*," he then said, "who can know who it was, awakened me to-night and took me to the rock just above that mango spring. Precisely like you she looks; her voice is also like yours; she laughs also like you. Therefore I am asking you where you took me to."

But she persisted in saying: "Not at all, small one<sup>13</sup>, I have not taken you anywhere, nor have I awakened you. You should consult the oil-oracle."<sup>14</sup>

"No, *hili*," he replied, "I shall certainly not consult the oil-oracle. As you do not tell either, it is all right. Then somebody else, whoever it was, took me away."

His sister-in-law persisted in saying: "No, my lad, I have not taken you anywhere. It is surely a bonga, or somebody of that kind. Perhaps she took you away in my likeness."

"Well then," the young man replied, "I shall put her to the test presently. If she awakens me to-night, I shall not go, and if she persists, I shall call out to you."

"Do call out," she said, "I shall tell your elder brother, and we two shall be on the watch." Having talked thus much together they stopped.

His sister-in-law told it to her husband and said: "Last night somebody, whoever it was, in my likeness, it seems, awakened the small one and took him, he says, to the rock at the mango spring. This morning he gave me an all-round talking-to and insisted that I had taken him away. I said to him: "Look here, at what time of the night did I take you away? I do not remember it. And why should I take you away? If you don't believe me, please let them consult the oil-oracle." Then he said: "Quite so; I shall certainly not let them consult the oil-oracle. You see, both voice and laugh were exactly like yours; therefore I conclude it is you". Then he again said: "Well then, if she awakens me to-night, I shall call out; then answer me!" So I also said to him: "All right, call out. I shall also let your brother know of this matter." So let us both be on the alert. Therefore I have told you also of this matter, in order that we may keep him in mind."

When she had told him, he at once disclosed it to everybody, and from that time all of them were alert and said: "Wait, we shall keep quiet in the meantime and be on the look-out, whether it is true or not that she awakens him. We shall see them, or hear them." Having said so much they did nothing more that day; but when night fell all of them were on the alert to see what would happen to these two.

At midnight that bonga girl really came and, goodness knows when, went in to the young man; no one was aware of her, when she entered. She went up to the young man, awakened him and said to him: "Come, let us go outside." The young man then got up and sat down; but he did not say a word. But as she proposed to him to go out, the young man called out to his sister-in-law. And as she and her husband were on the alert, as soon as he called out, they answered at once, got up and lighted a lamp<sup>15</sup>. But as they let the light fall on him, it was he alone they saw. Then they asked him: "Look here, lad, what did you call out for?"

Adoe menketa, Okoe coe dhaka beretkidiña, onaten hohoketa.

Adoko metadea, Ukuriće okayena?

Adoe metafoa, Noa divhepe jered jokengeye oka seć goten con.

Ado bako namlede khan, divhe doko irickatkeko gitić barayena. Khange arhō uni doe hecenteye beretkede. Adoe metae kana, Teheñ dom laikidiña.

Ado uniye menketa, Hē, ente am dom okoe kan con. Hiliñ in kulikede, ado okore godaolena? Uni khan huteć, bae angockea? Ado okore angoceta? Onaten hotorenten lai akatgea. Ar ente am hō nun din andhategem, idiyediñ kana. Okoe kan com? Cedak ente bam sodorok kana?

Ar uni koṛa do sanam hore beret ocokoa mente onekin galmarao jokhen do at hōktegeye roret kana. Ado ona roṛ anjomte apat haram do adi garteye roṛ sade goṛketa. Are roṛ goṛketa, Henda ya, okoe tuluc noa ninda dom galmarao kana?

Khange ado bana hō cal culkin thir bara gotena. Arhō divhe jereṛkateko nel barakede doe koṛa eskarge. Adoe kulikede, Henda ya, okoe tulucem galmarao kan tahēkana?

Ado uniye menketa, Miṭ hōṛ okoe coe heclena. Ado noa divheyem jered jokengeye oka seć goten con.

Ado onka bar dhaoteko arsalkedere hō bako nam darcadete divhe do miṭ jereṛgeko dhoṛketa, ado ghuriā en hilok do bae heclena. Khange uni boṅga kuṛi doe usaṭ calaolena, ado bae hec ruṛlana.

Ado dosar hilok gupi then dosra kuṛi chinteye sodorena. Ado uni koṛa bulau aguye lagat adi bariće sereñet kana. Ado ona sereñ anjomte uni koṛa do uni kuṛi thene sen sorena.

Ado un jokhen ona ninda reak katha uni kuṛi doe sodorketa. Adoe metae kana, Henda pera, nel thiken kanam?

Adoe menketa, Bañ.

Arhōe menketa, Inge con hola ninda do am then in senlen. Ado tinre com lai hatar akatte hohoket torage jham jhum jotō hoṛko nir beret goten.

Ado uni koṛae menketa, Am hō ente jaogem andha idiñ kan do. Mon menaktam khan, bam sodoroka? Cedak hiliñ bheskate dom calak kana? Ado one nindaḡe dhiri caṭanitelañ senlen, ona kathage uni do bañ kulikede? Ado baṅgeye godaok kan. Khange thoñ dhakwata ar in monreñ menketa, Durre! okoe eṇḡekhane idilidiña? Unre noa katha do sodorena. Ar am hō ente, un din khon menaklaña, enre hō noa katha do bam bhedadiña. Ado andha hōṛ cekateñ baḡaea? Ado onḡko arsal barame utaṛle baḡaeketa, nui doe nonkan hōṛ kana mente do.

<sup>15</sup> The lamp is a very primitive affair, an oil-container, formerly generally of earthenware, with a thick thread as a wick. All kinds of vegetable oils were used. Petroleum lamps are a later introduction.

<sup>16</sup> All places here referred to are in the northern part of the Santal Parganas district, where there is an English mission.

<sup>17</sup> The boṅga girl uses the name, which is against all custom with a woman and here is meant to show how angry she is.

"Somebody," he replied, "whoever it was, pushed me and got me up; therefore I called out."

"We don't see anybody," they said, "what became of her?"

"When you lighted the lamp," he replied, "she suddenly disappeared somewhere."

As they did not find her, they put out the light and went to bed. Then that bonga girl came again and got him up and said to him: "To-day you have told them about me."

"Yes," he answered, "because you are who knows who. I questioned my *hili*; but would she admit it? If it was she, would not she confess it to me? But did she? Not at all. Then I became afraid and told them. You see, you have also now so long a time been taking me away without my understanding what it is. Who are you? Why don't you show yourself?"

In order to make everybody in the house get up the young man was talking rather loudly, when they were speaking together. When his old father heard them talking, he at once called out in a very loud voice, and said: "Look here, my lad, with whom are you talking now in the night?"

Then both of them stopped talking and were silent. Again they lighted a lamp and let the light fall on the young man, and they saw it was he alone. Then the old man asked him: "Look here, my lad, who is it with whom you were talking?"

"Somebody," he replied, "came, I don't know who. When you lighted this lamp, she disappeared somewhere."

As they had searched for her with lighted lamp twice without being able to find her, they let the lamp stand there burning, and she did not come any more that night. The bonga girl went away sulking and did not return.

The next day she showed herself in the likeness of another girl, where they were herding cattle. In order to entice the young man away, the bonga girl was singing all she could, and as the young man heard that singing, he went near to the girl, and they started talking and flirting. Now the girl disclosed what had happened in the night, and said to the boy: "Look here, my friend, do you recognize me?"

"No," he replied.

"Why," she said, "it was I who went to you yesterday night. But as you some time before had told them, all of them got up with a rush, as soon as they were called out."

"Well," the boy replied, "you have all along been deceiving me. If you are so minded, will you not disclose yourself? Why do you go about in the form of my sister-in-law? You remember, when we two at night went to that rock, — did not I ask her about that? But she would not in any way acknowledge it. Then I got nettled at this and said to myself: "O dear, who then did take me away?" Then this matter was brought to light. You see, we two have been together for so long a time; still you have never let me know. And I am ignorant of the truth; how should I know? When they were seeking for you with a lighted lamp, then only we understood that you were something like this."



Ado kathae, en hilok do menakkinge; nindayenre ho ondege menakkin. Ar kada bitkil do akotege orakteko calaoena. Ar nui korā do uni kurige ako orakteye idikedeā. Ado miť ninda ondege doho angakate dosar hilok do kol gotkadea. Khange uni korā do bhagte orake hełena. Ado heł torako kuli barakedeā, okarem tahēkana mente. Ado lāikeť, bańma, Uni ninda hełen kurigeye namkidińte ał thene doho angakidińa. Nēkē endē khon nitgeń hijuk kana.

Ar uni korā monre do dhik caba akana, menkhan noa katha do oko ho bae laiako kana. Ado dakakoe jom barakeť, ado kada then calak lekageye saprao odok gotena. Ado kada then ho bae senlena; ekkalte Taljhari Misonte olok ced lagate calaoena. Are menkeť, Nun sangin do janić ohoe hijuka. Ado thora thuri olok in cetle khan don um daporoka.

Ar uni korā ma onteye calaoen, ar oko ho bae lai oťoatkoa, in do note se onteń calak kana mente. Ado bae lāileť karonte orakren doko āonda āundi barae kana. Adoko menkeť, Ohobo namlea; dhora uni bońga kurigeye angenkedetabona. Ado onkako hudiskeťte sunum sakam bogeteko nel bara ocoyeť. Ado okare ho bako khoro dareae kana.

Ado khange uni bońga kuri do cekate coe bađacket, bańma, hanđegeye senakana mente. Ar se uni korā do onde senkate moťhe pe candogeye hoe akan tahēkana. Khange uni bońga kuri do pańja gotkedeā. Ado metae kana, Am do in botortege nonde dom heł akana. Ado am pakńjage in don heł akana. Ado celem calaka se bań? Ma, cetem meneta? Rorme.

Ado uni korā do ańigeye ańduń barayeť. Menetae, Calao mań calaokokge. Sahebge tho ohoe chuťilińa.

Ado uniye menkeť, Ma ente metaeme. Chuťi bańkhane cekamea? Do nāhāk calakte metaeme.

Ado korae menkeť, Durre! lajao para. Netargeń bhorti akana, arho chuťin koeye khan, bae edreańa? Bańa, niā dhao do sen ruarokme, bań calak kana. Arho pe cando gan in parhaolenge, adon calao utaroka, ado am thengeń tahena.

Ado kuriye menkeť, Tobe khan ohom senlena?

Ado menkeť, Hē, niā dhao do bań calak kana.

Ado kuriye men otokata, Cet, phalna, calak bam reben kana? Nēlam nāhāk, am do inak katha bam dohoyeta, ona reak dom atkara nāhāk.

Ado enka menkatege uni kuri do hełena. Ado uni hełate miť candoge hoelena, khange uni korae konkayena. Cetko con al mal roro ehoketa. Parhao ho besgeye ehoba, tayomte khan cetko con bhacka bhacki ańigeye parhaoa. Adoko ruhedere ho bae bataoa. Arho oka do onkogeye besaokoa.

<sup>16</sup> <sup>17</sup> See p. 92.

<sup>18</sup> Such madness as here described is generally thought to be due to the influence of evil spirits. The Santali word here translated "nonsensical" is often used about gibberish, inane and obscene talk, considered insane.

<sup>19</sup> See p. 58, note 10.

That day they remained there; when night came, they still stayed on. The buffaloes went home of their own accord, and the girl took this young man with her to their house, kept him there for the whole night and then sent him away. The young man fortunately found his way home. As soon as he arrived, they questioned him where he had been. He then told them: "The girl that came at night met with me and kept me with her until dawn. Just now at this moment I am coming from there."

The young man was feeling disgusted; but he did not tell anybody of this. They took their meal, whereupon he made himself ready and went out, as if he were going to the buffaloes. He did not, however, do that; he went straight to the Taljhari Mission<sup>16</sup> to learn to write, thinking: "The girl will not be likely to come so far, and when I have learnt to write a little, I shall be baptized."

The young man went there, and he did not, before leaving, tell anybody that he was going to this or that place. As he did not tell, his relatives were searching everywhere for him. At last they said: "We shall never find him; surely, that bonga girl has spirited our boy away." Thinking this they consulted the oil-oracle over and over again; but they were not able to find any trace of him anywhere.

The bonga girl, however, somehow or other got to know, that he had gone to that place. At the time only three months had passed since he went there. The bonga girl thereupon followed after him, found him and said to him: "It is because you are afraid of me that you have come here. So I have come to trace you. Now, what will you do, will you come along or not? What will you do? Speak."

The young man came with some trivial excuses and said: "I might be willing to go; but the Saheb will certainly not give me leave."

"Well," she replied, "tell him you will leave. What else should he do than give you free? Do go at once and speak to him."

"O dear me," the boy said, "it is a shame. It is only a short time since I have been taken on; if I now ask him for leave, will he not be angry with me? No, go back again this time; I am not going with you. Let me read three months more; then I shall go away for good and remain with you."

"You are then quite unwilling to go?" the girl asked him.

"Yes," he replied, "this time I am not going."

The girl then said, as she left: "What, you so and so<sup>17</sup>! you refuse to come? You will see presently; you will not do as I say; you will feel the result presently."

Having said this the girl came away. About a month later the boy became mad<sup>18</sup>. He commenced to talk all kinds of nonsense. He would start reading all right; then he would read on some gibberish, and when they scolded him, he would not heed. Now and then he also mimicked the teachers.

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<sup>20</sup> See p. 50, note 9. After having been properly driven away she is supposed not to be able to come back

Khange Sahebe menketa, Ma tolepe, ranbo emaea. Khange tolkedete ranko emadea. Ado inakate khange uni kora doe nir barae kana. Ado onka nir nirate ako orakteye nir hecena. Ekkalte ona ul jharnategeye nir calaka. Ado ondeye senlen khane besenge, ar orakre khan, cetko con adiye harmadkoa. Ar jom ho bae joma, osok rohorenae.

Khange engat apat do ojhakin sapketkoteko husitkede. Uni boŋga kuriko lagakedea seko bidawadea. Khange uni korae besena, ado ghuriŋ uni kuri do kora then bae hec dareata.

Ado eneye bes utarente arho olokgeye calaoente ondegeye tahyenteye umena, ar ondegeye baplayenteye odokena. Kamiko emadete nit hapiŋ Purodhamni banglare kami kan menaegea. Ar nitkate do joto garosti sudhako um cabayena.

Noa do nelak katha kana, kahni eman do ban kana. Okoe hor tuluc boŋga kuriye tahēkana, uni hor ho nit hapiŋ menaegea, ar nui Jamkandorren kora ho menaegea. Okoe horko goena, onkanak do kahniko metak kana. Ar onkan kahni lekan katha do pea ponea gan menaka. Ado menkhan onkanak do ban olleta. Ar adom katha do okako then do noakin tuluc midokgea ar mit bar then do begarokgea.

Ar noko kuri hopon jat do cekate con algategeko bulau godokgea, hor kuri se boŋga kuri. Nelme, nui do tirio oronteye lobena. Hor kuri hoko lobok kangea. Ar banamte ar sereŋte, dom eneŋte, nonka bin aksulak jinisteko bulauk kana. Ado ma se bujme ente, tirio oron ar banam sereŋte do ban aksula. Mitŋan ona do jut anjomok kana, inage; ar bankhan onate jahān lab banukan. Ado okoe bako buj thiket kuriko bulauk kana. Metakme onako orad do banuktakoa onkan hor. Ado ene niŋ katha do cabayena.

Ado kora boŋga reak katha. Mitŋan kamar aimai din hilok adiye rot nakijok are misik kan tahēkana, ar bojawak mithi sunume ojoket tahēkana. Khange boŋga kora doe bulau goena.

Mit dinok uni kamar herel do pera horoke calaoena, ado ruarageye menleta. Ado cet beora iate con bae ruarlana. Ar gidratakin doko peakgea. Ado ayup hindaŋen ho bac ruarlana, ar nuiye hijuka mente gitiŋ goŋo hor bako aguletkoa.

Ado tala hinda khange uni boŋga herel do kamar herel chinteye hec gotenteye hoho sadeketa. Adoko jhiŋcadeteye boloyena. Dakako em gelawade, bae jomleta. Menketae, Bi akangeaŋ. Ado eneko jaegayente akin do haram budhi reakkinn kajeta. Ado unre thora doe atkar oromledegea, menkhan unre do cet ho bae ror sadeleta. Ente ror landa araŋko ma sinam ac herelak leakage, onate bae phutleta. Ado mit hindaŋkin kaj angaketa. Ado setak khangeye okayen con. Ado un utare dhakwata. Menketae, Ohre! apattet doe ban kana. Apate taheŋ khan, nit doe okaka? Bae tahēkoka?

<sup>19</sup> <sup>20</sup> See p. 94 - 95.

<sup>21</sup> It is of seldom occurrence, but the writer has met several persons who have wanted to be baptized, because they have believed that this will save them from the power of the evil spirits. Even heathen may be heard to advise other people to turn Christians in order to be saved from witches or malicious boŋgas, when they have tried all remedies known to them without effect.

<sup>22</sup> See commencement of this section. Here the Santal writer seems to make some reservations, as if he would not personally vouch for all he tells. He has undoubtedly a strong belief in the possibility.

<sup>23</sup> <sup>25</sup> See pp. 98 - 99.

Then the Saheb said: "Bind him, we shall give him medicine." So they tied him up and gave him medicine. After this had been done, the young man ran away; and running from place to place he reached his own home. There he would run straight to the mango spring, and when he reached there he was well; but when he was at home, he would do his people all kinds of mischief. He would not eat either and became lean and emaciated.

Thereupon his parents applied to some *ojhas*<sup>19</sup> and exorcized him. They drove the bonga girl away, i. e., they gave her her dismissal<sup>20</sup>. The young man then became well, and the girl could not return any more to the boy.

As he now in this way entirely recovered, he again went to learn to write, and staying there he was ultimately baptized<sup>21</sup>, and having married he came out of the school. They gave him work, and he is still working at the Purodhamni bungalow. Now by this time the whole family has been baptized.

This is what has been seen; it is not a story<sup>22</sup>. The man with whom the bonga girl lived, that man is still living. The young man from Jamkandor is also still alive. What is told about dead people, such tales they call folk-tales, and there are some three or four tales of that kind; but such ones I have not written here. Here and there these tales agree with what has been told in these two stories; in a few places they are different.

Now girls<sup>23</sup> somehow or other are so easily led astray, whether they are human girls or bonga girls. Observe, this one was led astray through flute playing. Human girls are also led astray. Through fiddle playing and song, through dancing, through anything which has no value to support people, they are led astray. Understand, flute playing and fiddling and singing does not support us. It is nice to hear, that is all; otherwise there is no profit by such things. And those girls who do not understand it properly, they are led astray. That is to say, such people as have no proper estimation of these matters. So there is an end to this tale.

Then there is something about male bongas. There was a blacksmith<sup>24</sup> woman who was in the habit of daily combing and tying up her hair and blackening her teeth; she also anointed herself with the finest scented oil. Then there was a bonga who became enamoured of her.

One day the blacksmith went on a visit to friends, intending to come back that day; but delayed by something or other he did not return. They had three children. It became evening and night, still he did not return, and as they expected him back again, they did not bring anybody to stay the night with them<sup>25</sup>.

At midnight the bonga came in the likeness of the blacksmith and called out. They opened to him and he came in. They put food before him, but he did not eat. "I have had food," he said. Hereupon they went to bed. She felt a little uncertain whether he was her husband, but did not say anything, because his voice and manner was so exactly like that of her husband. As soon as it was morning, he disappeared. Then only she understood. "Oh", she said, "he is not father. If he were he, where should he now go off to? Would he not stay?"

Ado dosar hilokko nel horkede. Dosar hilok hō bae heçlen. Ado mittañ buđhi hor gitić goroko idikedete bhritri khon rend bendko esetena arko hurkar tirupena.

Ado kathae, tala ninda khangē arhōe heć gotena are hōhō sađe goťketa. Khangē kathae, botorte joto horko beretena, divheko jeretketa, ado bako jhićae kana. Khangē ađi garteye ruhć goťketa, Ma hare phare jhić hoťańpe. Ado bako jhićet khan do, silpińe dhaka raput goťketeye bolō gotente uni aimaiye sap goťkedeā, ar mať maťe togoć daťawae kana, ar pondge jolok lekae beńgetae kana. Khangē uni doe keklesetena ar sanam horgeko keklesetenteko haemoekatena. Adoe kargo bindar goťkedete khub lekae dalkedeā, kathae, hākar hākar alańge ođokentaeā. Ar mokōń tora pandeye lebeť oťokadeā.

Khangē uni aimai doe kub kubu utarena ar dhelak dhelak māyāmgēye ulayeta, ar roť do atentaeā. Baskeak her khangē kamar herēle hećena, ado ini tulućgeye nepellena. Miť dhaoe beńget rakapadeā, ado jivi calaoentaeā.

Ar uni kamar herel doe kuli baraketko khan, sanam bhedko laide khan do kađa lekae adrao goťketa. Ado ente rakate hōe cekaeā? Goćen hor do okarem hameā? Ado eneko ođok idikedeteko dahonkedeā. Ado inakate pe pon māhā khangē uni kamar do onđe khone darťeta.

Ar uni bońga herel ma inā pande lebeť oťokategeye calaoen. Ado onē onka saj ar cōhō-kōk khan do, bońga herel hōko lobokgeā. Niā do añjom katha kana. Onē ado bońga ar horko baplať kan reak seko lotghuťi akat reak katha. Ado niare pe horak kathań laiketa seń olketa. Adoń mucatťeta.

Ado enē cabayena katha do.

### 9. Hor bońgako tulućko bapla akan reak katha

Hor ar bońga disomro dher horko bapla akangeā, menkhan sodor bapla tho bań kana. Ato hor se disom hor durup teńgoak, onage sodor se sabik bapla doťko metak kana, se asol bapla do ona kangeā. Ar akote napamkateko baplať kan, ona do asol bapla do bako metak kana. Ado arhō noa bońga ar hor bapla akan reak kathage arhōń laiyeta; metakme ona do nonka kana.

Hana Silńgi senak Dorbar atore bar hor bońga kurikin bahuan tahēkana. Mittañ do tiro ađiye orōńet tahēkante onateye bulāuledeā. Kađa gasao jokhen hor kurĩ chinte uni thene senlena. Unrekin napamente uni koŗa tuluće gateyena.

<sup>23</sup> Santals, like all orientals, have small faith in women, especially in their morality. In spite of this the Santal woman has often a very good position in Santal society, and just as often as not it is the woman who rules the household and often — indirectly — the village.

<sup>24</sup> The Santals keep a blacksmith in the village, or two or three villages may keep one together. He makes and repairs all agricultural implements used by them, sharpens axes and so on, being paid a certain amount of paddy for each plough used by the people. The Santals call these blacksmiths *kamar*; they generally speak a low kind of Hindi or Bihari, besides a little Santali. They are generally styled semi-hinduized aboriginals, whatever their origin may be.

Next day they waited for the husband; that day he did not come either. So they brought an old woman to stay during the night with them, shut up the house entirely from inside and put bars to the door.

Then, they tell, at midnight the bonga came again and called out. In fear and trembling all of them got up and lighted a lamp; but they did not open to him. Then he started scolding in a loud voice: "Be quick, open to me at once!" As they did not open, he pushed the door and broke it, came in and at once took hold of the woman and gnashed his teeth at her; he was looking at her, his eyes white and like blazing. She was frightened out of her wits, so they were all of them, and became stiff like logs from fear. Thereupon he threw her down on the floor and beat her, while he was wheezing and his tongue was hanging out of his mouth<sup>26</sup>. Then he kicked her in her stomach and left.

Thereupon the woman was utterly bent up and was vomiting clots of blood, and lost her speech. In the middle of the forenoon her husband came, so she met with him. She looked up at him once; then her soul left her<sup>27</sup>.

When the blacksmith questioned them, and they had told him what it all meant, he bellowed like a buffalo. But what could he do crying? Where can you find a dead person? They took her body out and burnt it. Some three or four days afterwards the blacksmith went away from there for good.

The bonga went away after having kicked her. In this way, when women put on ornaments and make themselves beautiful, male bongas also are allured. This is a story I have heard. This was about bongas and human beings having married or been living together. Here I have written about three such cases. There it is ended.

There now, that is the end of the tale.

## 9. MORE TALES ABOUT SANTALS MARRIED WITH BONGAS

Many Santals<sup>1</sup> and *bongas* have married in this country; but, of course, it has not been public marriages. When the village people<sup>2</sup> or the country people attend the ceremonies, then it is called a public or real marriage; that is the genuine marriage. When people meet and marry by themselves, people do not call this a real marriage. Here I shall again tell some stories about Santals and bongas having married.

In the village of Dorbar near Silingi<sup>3</sup> two men had taken bonga girls for their wives. One of them was in the constant habit of playing the flute, and thereby he led the bonga girl astray. While he was one day washing the buffaloes, she went up to him in the likeness of a Santal girl. After they had met that time, she became intimate with the young man.

<sup>25</sup> It is customary with Santals and others, when the males of a house leave for a short absence, to call in somebody to stay for the night, both as a kind of protection and out of consideration for the Santal Mrs. Grundy.

<sup>26</sup> What is described here, seems to point to a suspicion that the *bonga* is a kind of wild animal.

<sup>27</sup> A common Santal expression. The soul is thought at death to leave its hut, as the body is often called.

91<sup>3</sup> See p. 100.

Ado mōrē turui mähā gatekate miť din do uni kuřiye menkeťa, Dela tehen do ale oraķten idimea. Ina do ale oraķem nel aguitalea.

Ado uni korae menkeťa, Kađa nāhākko adoktiņa.

Adoe menkeťa, Baňa, nāhāk miť għaritem heć godoka. Kađa do neńdege tahē ocoako; ohoko okatektama.

Ado arhōe metadea, Sen mań senkokge; pase ape oraķren cetko metań. Onage tho lajao-geń metak kana.

Ado uniye menkeťa, Ohoko metama. Do nāhāk jāhānakko metam khan, inih dokmea.

Khange ado enekin calaoena. Khange uni kuřiren apat engat do kuřiko kulikedea, Henda mại, nui do okocyem ayur agukedeas?

Adoe metatkoa, Jāwāe kanae.

Khange ado durup lagit haprak haprak bińko piti akana; ona do, kathae, gańdo kantakoa. Ado onko bińge miťtańko sohor goťkadea arko metadea, Ma jāwāe, ona gańdore durupben.

Ado kathae, nui kora do botorte uni biń gańdore do bae duruplena, otregeye durupena. Ado durupkate onťe note berhaeteye beńget barayet khan doe heľetko do, aema utar bińko doho akaľko arko piťi bara akan. Arhō miť senre do kul tarup aema utarķo burum bara akan seķo ohor bara akane heľketkoa. Khange tho bebariće botorok kana are menetfa, Durre! cet gara engateń hećena? Ado onka bogeteye botorok kana. Khange daře menjoń kanre ma hor bae disayet kan, oka senteye daře. Are menetfa, Dhorage noko kul tarup then doko jom ocońgea nāhāk. Ar nui tuluć do cet hō bako roř barayetfa; nui do ac eskar pharakreye durup akana. Ado mājāk mōyōkgeye aikauetfa. Ar uni kuři hō oraķ bhitri senrege cetko ege cekas barayet kante nui then do bae sorok kana. Kora do mone meneteye menjoń kana, Cekate bań bae hijuk kan? Hećlen khan in menkea, Delań, idi oťokańme mente. Ado bae sorok kante nui do kirdhume durup thir akangea.

Ado sari ina miť għari khangeye odok gotena. Khange adoe gavić gotadea. Ado uni kuřiye heć sorena. Adoe metae kana, Cele cet lagatēm hohoań kana?

Adoe metadea, Cet hō bań; oraķ heľem agulidiņa, adon nel baraketapea. Ado delań, hor uľuk goťańme, calakań. Kađa nāhākko okateķ kan con.

Adoe metadea, Hape, miť għari thir hatarokme; am lagatgeń pikťha kana. Inań isinle khange nāhāk jom barakatelań calaka.

Adoe metadea, Ma eńdekhan hako pako usara godme.

Ado sari hare phare ini moto lagitko isin laha goťketfa. Ado jom lagit dake tańadea are metadea, Ma abukokme; jom barakatelań calaka.

<sup>1</sup> It might be noted that the Santal name for a human being and for a Santal is the same.

<sup>2</sup> While the binding part of the marriage ceremony is the act of the man, i. e. the bridegroom, putting *sindur* on the forehead of the girl, no marriage is considered a real one without the public having been present. The village headman as a representative of society must be there. See p. 59, note 2, p. 67, note 7.

<sup>3</sup> Silingi is a place in the so-called Dumka Damin, to the north east of Dumka, the headquarters of the Santal Parganas district.

<sup>4-5</sup> See p. 102.

After they had been intimate for five or six days, the girl one day said: "Come along, to-day I shall take you to our home, so you can see where we live."

"My buffaloes will be lost," the young man replied.

"Oh no," she said, "in a moment you will be back here. Let the buffaloes stay here; they will certainly not go anywhere away from you."

"Well," the young man said, "I should like to go; but perhaps your people might say something to me. That I feel ashamed of."

"They will surely not say anything to you," she replied. "Do come; if they should say anything to you, I shall stand up for you."

Thereupon they went<sup>4</sup>. When they had arrived, the girl's parents asked her: "Look here, our girl, who is this whom you have brought along."

"He is my husband," she answered them.

Now, to sit on they had big, big snakes coiled up<sup>5</sup>. These, people tell, are their stools. They pushed one of these snakes towards him, saying: "Please, son-in-law, sit down on this stool."

But the young man was afraid and did not sit down on the snake-stool; he sat down on the ground. Sitting down there he looked round in all directions and saw, look and behold, they were keeping an immense number of snakes which were coiled up. In one direction he further saw a large number of tigers and leopards lying or squatting about. At this he became very much frightened and said to himself: "Dear me, dash it, what sort of evil have I fallen into?" In this way, he was very much afraid; but when he thought of running away, he could not remember the way, so in which direction should he run? He was thinking: "Surely, they will let these tigers and leopards eat me presently." No one spoke to him a single word. He was sitting alone by himself some distance off, staring about and feeling at his wit's end. The girl was also occupied with something or other inside the house and did not come near to him. The young man was saying to himself: "How can it be that she does not come? If she would only come, I should say to her: Come, take me back again." But as she did not come near to him, he was sitting there quietly, hanging his head.

Then, after a while, the girl really came out, and he beckoned to her. She came up to him and asked him: "Well, what is it? What are you calling me for?"

"Oh, it's nothing," he replied, "you brought me here to see your home; now I have seen how you are living. Please come along, show me the way, I must go. The buffaloes will by this time be going astray."

"Wait," she said, "just be quiet a moment. I am making some cakes for you. When I get those ready and you have eaten, you and I shall go at once."

"Well then," he replied, "hurry up and be quick."

Thereupon they quickly prepared some food for him alone. The girl brought him water, saying: "Please, wash your hands; when you have had food, you and I shall go."



Ado mēnketa, Bañ jometa. Dēn nōḍeḡe aḡuime; idi toraeañ; hanteregen joma.

Khange kuṛi dō bōloyente ēngattet noa kathae laiadea, bañma, Nōḍe jom dō bae reben kana; idi toraye mēneta.

Ado ēngattete mēnketa, Baña, idi lagat dō judategebo emaea. Mae ābuk hijuk ma. Ina dō oraḡ hōe nēlkatabona.

Khange kuṛi dō arhō heḡkateye metae kana, Ma ābukokme; jomlem. Idi lagat dō judagele emama. Oraḡ nēla menteñ aḡuketmea, ado tobē okor cēt lekam nēlketalea? Ayoe mēneta, Mae hijuk ma baṛe.

Ado onka aḡiye jidkede khan dō, sariye ābukenteye ayur aderkedea. Ado ona biñ gaṇḍogeko beladea. Ado onare dō bōtorte bae duṛuplena, oṛegeye duṛupena. Ado dahe taben guṛko emadea, ado loḡotkateye sipi jomketa.

Ado onae jojom jōkhenge kuṛiren ēngattet dōe galmaraoae kana. Metae kanae, Nōḡōe, jāwāe, oraḡ duar nēl hoṇonerañ dōe ayur aḡu akatbena. Ado ma nēltaleben. Onate oraḡte dōle hoḡoaben kana, bañkhanben mēnkea, Bhitri sēn dō cēt lekan cōñ, ēkēn bahre khonge sariṁtētkogen nēlketapea. Ado ma nōḡōe nēltaleben.

Ado sari oraḡkoe heṅḡet baṛawak kan dō, boḡete aseḡ taseḡ cij menaktako, ar Sahebak leka sē raj rapajko leka asbab menaktako. Ado jom baṛakateye oḍokena. Apat haṛam dō hukai conda aḡuketa, ado bana hoṛkin nū baṛaketa.

Ado kuṛiye mēnketa, Cele, ado delañ iñ idi oṭokama. Ado tala haṭak gan taben ar pe gaṇḍa piṭṭai aḡuketteye metadea, Ne, ma ghētme, ar delañ iñ idi oṭokama.

Ado sari kiciṛe inaḡoe ghētkeṭa. Ado eṇeye aḡu oṭokadea; ar uni kuṛi dōe ruarena.

Ado miṭṭaṇ gate koṛa ona piṭṭa taben dō emaea mente uni ṭhene idiketa. Ado metae kana, Ne ya, piṭṭa tabenem jom khan doñ aḡu akata.

Ado onkae mēnket khan, uni dōe mēnketa, Dēn yañ joma. Ado raṛakatekin nēlet kan dō bañ kan; taben dō meral sakamena, ar piṭṭa dō gōṭṭhayena. Khan eṇḡegekin chitiṭu giḍikata; jom hōe bakin jomleta.

Ado unre uni gatet koṛae mēnketa, Am dō ya, bejāe phaṣiara hoṛ kanam. Meral sakam ar gōṭṭham jom ocoñ kan dō. Noa lagatem hoḡoan kana?

Ado uniye mēnketa, Baña ya, piṭṭa taben menteḡeñ ghēt aḡuleṭa, ar adom dō oṇḡegen jomketa. Ado cekate cōñ nonkayen, ona dō oḡoñ mēnlea.

<sup>4</sup> It is notable that this story has no mention of the parties passing through water to reach the other side.

<sup>5</sup> See p. 54, note 3.

<sup>6</sup> See p. 54, note 4, p. 55, note 5, p. 81, note 6. Molasses, in Santali called *guṛ*, is the produce of the first inspissation of the juice of the sugar cane, now generally bought in the shops, but also sometimes prepared by the Santals themselves. It is used together with *taben* and *khajārī* (see below), and also otherwise, and is the common form of sugar used.

<sup>7</sup> *Hukā* is the hubbly-bubbly, a water-bowl — commonly made of the shell of the cocoa-nut, furnished with a stem, on the top of which is an earthenware *cilim*, the head of the pipe. Here the tobacco is put and on top of this a live coal. The smoke is "sucked" out through a hole in the cocoanut. There is, of course, a large number of varieties and elaborately constructed hubbly-bubbles, e. g., with long pipes instead of the single hole for

"I shall not eat," he replied: "do bring it here; I shall take it away with me and eat it over there."

The girl went in and told her mother this, saying: "He does not wish to eat here; he wants to take it away with him."

"No," her mother replied, "that will not do; we shall give him separately to take away with him. Let him wash his hands and come. Then he can see our house at the same time."

The girl came back to him again and said to him: "Do wash your hands and take food. We shall give you something else to take away with you. I brought you here, that you might see our house. But in which way have you seen how we live? Why, you have not. Mother says: Let him come."

When she persisted in this way, he finally washed his hands, and the girl took him into the house. They put that snake stool before him; but he was afraid of sitting on it, so he sat down on the ground. Thereupon they brought him curds and *taben* and molasses<sup>6</sup>, and he mixed and ate.

While he was eating, the girl's mother was talking to him. "You see, son-in-law," she said, "my daughter has brought you here to see our house and circumstances. Now please look, how we are living. That is why we have called you into the house. Otherwise you might say: "Who knows how it is inside? It is only the roof I have seen from outside." So now look how it is with us."

He then looked at the house and everything there, it was exuberantly full of things, and they had furniture like that of a *saheb* or like princes. Having finished eating he came out, and the old father lighted a *huka*<sup>7</sup> and brought it, whereupon they both had a smoke.

Then the girl said: "How is it? Come now and I shall take you back." She brought a winnowing fan<sup>8</sup> half full of *taben* and a dozen cakes, saying: "Please, tie this up; come now, and I shall see you back."

He did so and tied it up in his clothes, whereupon the girl brought him back, while she herself returned.

The young man now took the *taben* and the cakes to a friend of his to give it to him, saying to him: "Here you, if you like to eat *taben* and cakes, I have brought some."

As he said this, the other replied: "Give it then, I will eat." When they had opened the bundle, they saw it was nothing of the kind: the *taben* had become *meral*<sup>9</sup> leaves, and the cakes dried cow-dung. So then and there they throw it all away and scattered it; of course, they did not eat anything.

His friend then said: "You scamp you, you are a great rascal. You are trying to make me eat *meral* leaves and dried cow-dung. Is it this you called me for?"

"Not at all, you fellow," he replied, "I understood it was *taben* and cakes that I tied up and brought. I ate some of it there. How on earth it has been changed into this, I am unable to say."

Ado uni korae menketa, Noa do okarem namleta, orak khongem aguleta, se okoe ematmea?

Ado unreye menketa, Mitān kuriye idilediña, uniye em gotadiña. Onde ma thik piṭha taben lekageñ nelketa; ar jom laḡit judageko emadiñte ona do ondegeñ jom cabaketa, ar niā do orakte idia menteko kol gotadiña. Adoñ menketa, orakte do bañ idia. Am in nelketme khan doñ menketa, Nuige noa doñ emaea. Onka menkate am doñ hoḡoatmea, ado one rarakatelañ nelket do, bañ kan.

Ado arhōe kulikedeā, Henda ya, uni doe okoe kuri kana?

Adoe metadea, Eya, okoe kuri kan coe. Ona darha then kadañ gaksao kan tahēkan jōkhegeye heclenteye bulau gotkidiña. Ado galmarao barakateye metadiña, Dela, ale orakteñ idimea, orakko nel aguitaleme. Ar cet bañ se, uni do aḡi mōñj kuri kanae. Neltege in hōñ mōngon utarena. Menketañ, Nui kuri doñ hataoegea. Onka menkateñ bulau calao-lena, ar orak duarkoñ nelkettakoa, jom nūketāñ. Ar cet bañ se ya, sen tora do baṛic in botorena; ente biñko piṭi akana aema utar, ar sanam lekan biñ menakkoa; ar duṛup laḡit do onkokeko sohor gotadiña. Ado botorte in do onkore bañ duṛuplena, otregeñ duṛupena. Ar miṭ senre doñ nelketkoa, bogete hajar lekan kul tarupko burum baṛa akan. Ado onko nelte arteḡeñ botorena, ado ḡar in menleta. Menkhan cekañ bhulen coñ, hōrge bañ disayet kan. Ar se nui kuri doe pikṭha kante orak khonge bae oḡokok kan. Ado aḡi enae oḡok-lena, ado ḡaviḡadeteñ metadea, Dela, idi gotkañme. Ado dakko tañadiñteñ abuk boḡoyen khan, biñge duṛup laḡitko beladiña. Ado botorte onare do bañ duṛuplena. Otregeñ duṛup-ente dahe tabenko piṭhakoko emadiña. Arko metañ kana, Ma jāwāo, nōkōe orak duarko nelkatalēben. Ado unreñ nelketa, cet bañ se, raj rapajkoak hō onkan asbab do baṇuḡtakoa, hankañ nelketa. Ar jom barakate hukakoñ nū baraketa. Ado hijuk jōkheñ noakoko ghēt ocokediña, ar kuriye menketa, Dela, atra dhur in idi gotkama. Unre noa doñ agu dara akata.

Ado uniye menketa, Tōbe ya, Hōr kuri doe bañ kana, uni doe boṅga kuri kana. Hōr do kul tarup se biñko do bacobon asul akatko. Onateñ meneta, uni doe boṅga kuri kangea. Cekate bako jomletmea?

Adoe menketa, Hē ya, hē ya, cekate coñ bako jomlidiñ, bañkhan doñ mucaṭkoka.

Ado uni hōe menketa, Hē ya, saṛige uni doe boṅga kuri kangea, Hōr doe bañ kana.

Ado one onka, kathae, onko boṅgawak taben khajari se piṭha do note agule khan do pheraok kangetakoa. Ado unre uni korae agulette noa katha do disomre Hōr hoṇonko

drawing the smoke, metal parts and so on. What is mentioned here, is the form commonly used. When in use, the hukā is frequently passed from one to another, if the smokers can use the same hukā, each smoker drawing the smoke a few times. It should be mentioned that the hukā is not an original Santal implement. They have got it from the Hindus, and it is not at all common. The Santals chew tobacco leaves mixed with lime.

<sup>8</sup> The winnowing fan is of oblong shape, the front being straight and flat, the other sides having a raised rim, which is highest at the back. It is used for several purposes, for cleaning the grain and so on, but is also used as a loose kind of measure. It is made from bamboo and is of a fairly constant size.

<sup>9</sup> See p. 54-5, notes 4 and 5.

<sup>10</sup> See above, note 1.

<sup>11</sup> See p. 106.

"Where did you get this?" the other boy asked, "did you bring it with you from home, or did somebody give it to you?"

The young man replied: "A girl took me along with her; she gave it to me. There it looked to me exactly like *taben* and cakes. They gave me separately to eat there and I finished that while I was there, and this they gave me to take along with me. But I thought I would not take it home, and when I saw you, I said to myself, I shall give this to him. That was my reason for calling out to you. And when we opened it, we both saw it was not what we thought."

"Look here, you scamp," the other one again asked, "which girl is she?"

"You fellow," he answered, "who knows who she is? While I was scrubbing the buffaloes at that water-pool, she came and duped me. We had been talking together, when she said to me: "Come along, I shall take you to our house. Come and see how we are living." Well, what can one do? She is an extremely beautiful girl. Looking at her I lost my senses utterly. I said to myself: "This girl I shall make mine." Having this in my mind I went along entirely lost. I saw their home and circumstances. I took food and drink with them. Well, what would you think, you fellow? When I reached there, I became awfully frightened. Snakes were lying there coiled up in large numbers, and there were all kinds of snakes, and these they pushed towards me to sit on. Out of fear I did not sit down on these, I sat down on the ground. And on one side I saw, look and behold, thousands of tigers and leopards were lying about. Seeing these I became still more frightened and thought of running away. But somehow or other I was at fault, I could not remember the way we came. Besides, the girl was occupied making cakes and did not come out of the house. When she at long last came out, I beckoned to her and said: "Come along, take me back." Then they gave me water, and having washed my hands I went into the house, and they pushed a snake towards me to sit on. Out of fear I did not sit down on that. When I had sat down on the ground, they gave me curds, *taben* and cakes and said to me: "Well, son-in-law, here you are, have a look at our house and our circumstances." Then I looked round, you have no idea, kings and princes have not household goods like those. So it looked to me. Having had my food, I had a smoke from a *huka*. When I came away, they made me tie these things up in my cloth, and the girl said to me: "Come along, I shall see you half way off." Then I brought this along with me."

His friend then said: "Well then, she cannot be a human woman<sup>10</sup>, she must be a bonga girl. It is a wonder they did not eat you."

"Yes, yes," he replied, "it certainly is a wonder they did not eat me; then it would have been the end of me."

"Yes, surely," the other one agreed, "she is certainly a bonga girl; she is not a human girl."

In such a way, people tell, if you bring the *taben*, *khajari*<sup>11</sup>, or the cakes of the bongas here, these things are changed. Since this young man brought this stuff, the story has

then pasnao akana, ar noa katha dō sanam hōrko baḍaegea, bañma, piṭṭa taben dō nonka bōdōlōk kantakoa.

Adō ene inkin kōra dō eṇḍe khonge apan apin oṛaktekin heḥ barayena. Ar uni kōra dō aṛiko baḥuae haḅie uni boṅga kuṛi soṅge dōe taḥēkana. Ar kōratekoak oṛakte hōe hijuk kan taḥēkangea, menkhan sōdōr dō bae sōdōrlena, ar daka utu hō bae jōmleṭtakoa. Ar ceṭ bañ se, nui kuṛiye baḥuen khan dō, heḅaṛieḥko kisārena, ar gāi kaḍa, meṛom bhidi aḍiko baḍhaoentakoa, ar oṛakko hō khub laṭuentakoa, se khub sērā sērā oṛakko benao idi-keṭa, adō oṛak duṛko hō khub hamram bakhōl 'aikauentakoa. Adō uni kōrako baḥuade khan, boṅga kuṛi dōe baḡikeṭa. Adō ene nia katha dō cabayena.

Adō ini dosra kōra reak katha neṭe doṅ laiet kana, uni ceṭkoe ceka akata, onako reak katha.

Adō nui hō kaḍa gupi kōrageye taḥēkana, adō gupi tuluḡe aḍiye banameṭ taḥēkana. Khange Asaṛ cando jōkhen miṭ din dō baṛeg mucat baiḥarre ayup nūhum jōkhen kaḍae ṭekao akatko taḥēkana. Adō nūhumen khan, kaḍa hō aḍiko aṭiñ kana. Adō ceṇḍeñre duṛup-kate nui kōra dōe banamjōñ kana are sereñeṭa.

Khange miṭṭen boṅga kuṛi dō tinre coṅ heḥkate ato kuṛi chinte uni kōrawak dea seḡre dō heḥkateye teṅgo akana; ar un haḅie uni kōra dō bae disayede taḥēkana.

Khangeye teṛḍeḥkeṭ khan dō, uni kuṛiak umul dō kōra samañ seṅge seṅ akantaea. Adō cekate coṅ ona umule ṇel ṭhikkeṭ, hōrak umul leka ṇelōk kan. Khangeye beṅgeṭ aḥur goṭkeṭ khan dō, phalna kuṛi lekae ṇel goṭkedeṭa. Khangeye kulikedeṭa, okoe kanam mente.

Adōe menkeṭa, Inḡe.

Adō araṇe aṅjom ṭhikkede khane metadeṭa, 'Tinre coṅ noṇḍe heḥkatem teṅgo akan? Disa hō bañ disa heḥleṭmeṭa, ar am hō ceṭ hō bam rōr saḍeyeṭa.

Adō uni kuṛiye menkeṭa, Baḥnamgem sardi akatte ceṭ hō bañ metam kana. In hō onageṇ, aṅjomjōñ kana.

Adō kōrae menkeṭa, Ceṭ lagatēṭ heḥ akana?

Adō kuṛiye menkeṭa, Amge banamtem bulāu aḡukidiña. Aḍi jutem banameṭte bam bulāukidiña?

Adō kōrae menkeṭa, Ma tōḅe khan duṛupme.

Adō eneṭe duṛupen khan dō, uni seṇe geṣrōk sorente jaṅgae sapkedetekin ṭhikkēṭa. Adō mōkōñ baṛakate ceṭ galmarao cōkin eḥōpkeṭ, onateḡekin lobdhaoena, baḥnam dōe ḥiṛiñkeṭa. Adō pōhṛēk pōhṛēk sanaye pichekin kajēṭ kana. Khange bana hōrak jivi dō tōl cabayentakina, adō alo chapadao lekakin aikauēṭa.

<sup>11</sup> Khajari is the Santali name for parched rice, very often used as food, when there is no time or opportunity for cooking. It is the same as is at the present day called Japanese rice in Norway. Khajari is mostly prepared by some Hindu castes, but some Santal women also know how to make it. See above, note 6.

<sup>12</sup> The idea seems to be that, if a *bonga* would partake of human food, she would lose "caste", so to say, and would be shown up.

<sup>13-14</sup> See p. 108.

been spread among the Santals in this country, and it is known to everybody, their cakes and taben are changed as told.

Those two boys now went from there to their respective homes. But the young man about whom this tale is told continued to live with that bonga girl until he was married. And the girl also was in the habit of coming to the house of the young man's parents; but she did not show herself, nor did she eat their rice and curry<sup>12</sup>. It is a wonder, when this girl was married, they became awfully rich, their cattle and buffaloes, their sheep and goats increased manifold; their houses also became very large, i. e., they built big, big houses, one after the other, and so their buildings and houses were felt to be like palaces, nothing wanting. When they got a wife for this young man, the bonga girl left.

Now, there this story is at an end.

Now I am going to tell the story of the other young man, the story of what he did.

This young man was also a buffalo-herd, and while herding he was in the habit of playing his fiddle<sup>13</sup>. One day in the month of asar<sup>14</sup> it so happened, that he was watching, in the evening after sunset, the buffaloes grazing near some low-lying paddy-fields at the end of the field on which the house was standing. As it became twilight, the buffaloes were eagerly grazing, and the young man was sitting on a bare spot above them, fiddling and singing.

While he was doing this, a bonga girl had come in the likeness of a village girl and was standing behind the back of the young man, and for some time he was not aware of her being there. But when the moon rose, the shadow of the girl was cast on the ground in front of the boy, and then somehow or other he saw the shape of the shadow, it was like the shadow of a human being. When he quickly looked backwards, he saw someone looking like such and such a girl and asked her, who she was.

"It is I," she replied.

As he recognized her voice, he said to her: "Since when have you come and been standing here? I was not aware of you, and you do not say a word either."

"You were so eager playing the fiddle," the girl replied; "therefore I did not speak to you. I also was listening to that."

"Why have you come?" the young man asked.

The girl replied: "You yourself have enticed me here by your fiddling. You see, you are playing so beautifully, you brought me here by that."

"Come and sit down then," the young man said.

When she had done so, the young man little by little slid over to her and caught hold of her and had his way with her. They started talking this and that and became entirely lost in each other, so that the young man quite forgot to play his fiddle. Both of them became so attached to each other that they felt it as if they could not part from one another any more.

Ado dher hābié hoeyen khan, korae mēnketa, Ma teheñ dolāñ ināk hābićkakgea. Malañ apan āpireća. Dher nīrcāyena, kađañ idikoa. Ar am hō paseć oraćreko nam barayetme, okayenae mente.

Ado kuřiye mēnketa, Ma tobelāñ apan āpinoka, mēnkhan āika gapa hana thenlañ nāpama.

Ado korae mēnketa, Tin ber jōkhen?

Kuřiye mēnketa, Tikin thik jōkhen.

Korae mēnketa, Acha besge, calakme; āika alom egeña.

Kuřiye mēnketa, Acha, ohōñ eremea. Ado enkz cepet barakate enekin apan āpinena.

Ado dosar hilok tikin jōkhen hōkin nāpamena, ayup hōkin nāpamena. Ado onka din hilok bar belakatekin nāpamena. Khange ādi bārićkin copao satena. Ar uni kora dō bae bađae kana, nui dōe boñga kuři kana mente dō; ac dō Hōr kuřigeye bade kana. Khange onka dher din miluākin tahēyena; oka dō gupi then hō dakae idiaea. Ado āditefkin mel cabayena.

Khange uni dō miñtañ jharna sođokren kuřiye tahēkana. Ar ona jharnare dō akar baha ādi bārić tahēkana. Miñ din dō tikin jōkhenkin nāpamentekin kaj baraketa. Ado uni kuřiye mēnketa, Delañ, hana jharna reak akar baha siť goťañme, sunumreh bojaoa.

Ado onka mēnkatekin calaoena. Ado ona sisit jōkhenge cekae andha goťkede coñ, tinre coe añgen goťkedetekin bolō calaoen. Ado onte hō nonka kuñharge, nonkage bogete hōr bāsti akane nēletkōa. Ado dāhar dāhartekin calaoente onko kuřiak oraćteye ayur idikedeā. Ado onkage biñ gañdoko beladea, adō hōtorte uni hō onare dō bae duruplena. Ado uni kuřiko kulikedeā, Henda māi, nui dōe okoe kana?

Adoe metaťkōa, Nui dōe jāwāe kana.

Ado jañga dak āgukette jañgako ābukkedea, ar uni jom lagatko tana bhanaketa. Pāhil dō jol panko emadea, inakate dō daka utu. Ado ondege ādi dinko dōhokedeā, turui cando leka.

Ar miñtan erveltet korae tahēkana. Ado uniko metadea, Am dō nui teñam soñgere tahenme, nui jemōn aloe eskarok. Ado sari uniye tahēyena. Ar onko kul tarup doko seta kantakoa; onkoko uni kora doko tiak bara ocoyea. Ar dinge jel tuluć dakako emaea, ar uni kora dōe jom dorokkoka, cet hō bae ror baraea ar bae kuli barakoa, noa dō cele jel kana mente. Ar uni kora hō ondegeye hewayente hijuk hō bae mēn baraea.

<sup>13</sup> The fiddle is a one-stringed instrument, much beloved by the people. Santals may sit for hours fiddling, enjoying the sound. It is, however, rather strange that a boy should take such an instrument along whilst herding cattle. They generally carry a flute.

<sup>14</sup> Asar is the first month of the rainy season in the north-eastern parts of India, from the middle of June to the middle of July.

<sup>15</sup> A plant found in moist places, *Limnophila Roxburghiana*, G. Don.

<sup>16</sup> The people are constantly using oil to rub themselves in with. They prepare oil from a fairly large number of seeds. Women are, of course, making a more extensive use of oil, especially for their hair, than are the men. The perfuming here hinted at is done by soaking the stuff in the oil.

<sup>17</sup> The same license which is allowed between a man and his elder brother's wife also exists, although not quite to such an extent, between a man and the younger sisters of his wife, provided they are unmarried. In a similar way the relationship between a man and his wife's younger brothers is of the kind called *landa sagai*; their relations are of the greatest freedom and intimacy.

When they had been together until very late, the young man said: "To-day we must let it be with this. We must separate now. It is far into the night, I must take the buffaloes home. Perhaps they are also looking for you at home and wondering where you have gone to."

"Well then," the girl replied, "we must go each our way; but be sure, we must meet over there at that place to-morrow."

"At what time?" he asked.

"At noon exactly," she replied.

"All right," the young man said; "now go. Be sure you don't deceive me."

"Very well," the girl replied, "I shall not deceive you." After having arranged with one another in this way, they went each their way.

The next day they met at noon and also in the evening, and they continued to meet thus twice daily. In this way they became entirely devoted to one another. But the young man did not know that the girl was a bonga girl; he was taking her to be a human girl<sup>1</sup>. They remained living together in this manner for a long time; sometimes she would also bring him food where he was out herding. They became utterly attached to each other.

Now this girl was really living in a small stream with a spring, and in this stream there was an abundance of *akar*<sup>15</sup> flowers. One day they met as usual at noon. Then the girl said: "Come along, help me to pluck some akar flowers in that spring; I want to perfume my oil<sup>16</sup> with it."

Having agreed to this they went. But when he was plucking these flowers, somehow or other she cast a spell on him; some time when he was not aware of it, she spirited him off with her, and they entered the spring. There on that side it was also dry land like here, in the same way there were lots of village houses and people which he saw. They went along a road, and the girl led him along to her own home. There they put a snake before him as a stool to sit on; out of fear he did not sit down on it. Then they asked the girl: "I say, my girl, who is this one?"

"He is my husband," she answered them.

Then they brought water and washed his feet and set to work to prepare something for him to eat. First they gave him some light things, and thereupon rice and curry. They kept him there for a long time, something like six months.

There was a younger brother<sup>17</sup> of his wife. They told him: "You remain with your brother-in-law, in order that he may not feel lonesome." And so he did. Now tigers and leopards are the dogs of those people, and they made the young man lead these about. Every day they gave him meat-curry with his rice, and he ate; it was food, he did not say anything and did not ask them what kind of meat it was. The young man became accustomed to staying there and did not think of coming back here.



Ado khangē tahēn tahēnte miť din dō ervedetē korāe mēnketa, Delań ho sendra. Ado sendra kin calaoena. Ado birre jāhāegekin nāmko, herel sē aima, ado uni ervedetē korā dōe capat bindar goťkotakina, ar uni kul dōkin liliāu goťaea, adōe ger goť goťkoa, adō ene kin aguketkoge. Ado agukateko teke jomkoa.

Ado tin din hoekate coń, kathae, onkage miť din dō sendragekin sen akana, ar nui dō kule tiāķ oco akadea. Ado birre senkatekin nēlkede dō, miťtań hōr dō bir arere hurufe kukťam kana. Ar uni ervedetē korā dōe mēnketa, Ma ho teheń dō amge seta dō liliāu-aetalańme, hāni hańdō maraķe aťiń kana.

Ar uni dōe mēnketa, Ukurić ho?

Ado uni huruf kukťam hōrgeye uduķ ťhikadea, adōe metadea, Ma goť aguyem. In dōń daķ sećanrege.

Khangē, kathae, nui dō ađi garteye roť sađe goťketē khan, uni hōr dōe cirgal goťena. Ona takre uni kul dōe araķ goťkadea. Ado kathae, jemōnge uni kule dōn goťleťa, temōnge uni hōr dō tańgateye kuťam daramlede. Ado miť kuťamregeye sať goťkadea. Ar uni goť tora hōr dōe dať tapķeta.

Ado teńattēť bae ruar kanteye pańjakede khane nēlkede, kul dōe goť ocoyen. Adōe metadea, Durhaķ, seta dōm goť ocokede dō!

Ado uniye mēnketa, Nui seta dō ente maraķ tuluće bae dāřelen khan in cekaea? Maraķ ťhengeye tobaķ goť ocoyena.

Adōe metadea, Bam capat nōķaea? Ar uni dōe mēnketa, Bań capatadea. Ado ońdōge uni kul dōkin bađiadea.

Ar oraķre hećkate apat hařam dō lelha melha bogeteye ruhetķede. Mēnketae, Nonkan seta nahakgeben goť ocokede. Ma nui jāwāe dō nitge idikaepē.

Ado unre uni dōe agu oťokadea. Ado enre hō miluā dō bakin bađileťa. Arhō oka oka dō bar pe candoe ańgen idiyēgea. Ar nitkate uni hōr dōe janok kana.

Ado ene cabayena.

## 10. Hōr ar toyo reaķ katha

Sedae jokheń, kathae, miťteń hōr haťiāte dańgra kirińe senlena. Ado jor sudhaģe kiriń-kine mēnleťa. Ađi khone dōr dam barayetķogea, adō damrege bań paťaok kante bae kiriń dareakin kana. Metakme unāķ dam ma bańuktae, ťaka bań kulauķ kan. Ado enre hōe

<sup>18</sup> One of the several veiled expressions for going to pay a call of nature.

<sup>19</sup> *Jan*, a word of Sanskrit origin, means something like "the knowing one". It is used exclusively about the witch-finders. The Santals believe that formerly there were honest *jans* who got their revelations directly from the other world. Now they generally agree that they are rank humbug; still they consult them. Now-a-days they are caught and punished by the authorities. They are undoubtedly unmitigated scoundrels, responsible for much injustice and unhappiness.

<sup>10</sup> <sup>1-3</sup> See p. 112—114.

While he was staying there, his wife's younger brother one day said: "Come along to hunt." So they went hunting. Whoever they met in the forest, man or woman, the younger brother of his wife would knock them over by throwing something at them, whereupon they would set the tiger on, and he would bite them to death. Thereupon they would take them home and cook and eat them.

Some day afterwards, people tell, they had in this way gone out hunting, and the young man had been told to take the tiger along. When they reached the forest, they saw a man; he was grubbing roots on the edge of the forest. Then his brother-in-law said to him: "Now, to-day you must set our dog on; look over there, a peacock is feeding."

"Where?" the young man replied, "I don't see any."

The other one then pointed out to him the man who was grubbing roots and said: "Now kill and bring him. I must go at once towards water<sup>18</sup>."

As the young man spoke out very loudly, the man became attentive, just when he let the tiger loose. The moment the tiger sprang at him, the same moment the man met him with a stroke of the axe. With one stroke he finished him, and as soon as he had killed him, the man ran away.

As his brother-in-law did not come back, the bonga man went after him and saw that the tiger had been killed. "Dear me," he said, "you have let the dog be killed."

"Why," he replied, "this dog was unable to cope with the peacock, then what can I do? He was pecked to death by the peacock."

The other one said: "Should you not have helped him by throwing something?"

"I did not throw anything to help him," he replied. So they left the tiger there.

When they came back home, the old bonga man scolded him all round, called him a fool and so on. "Such a dog," he said, "you two have caused to be killed for nothing. Do, take this son-in-law away now this instant."

So she brought him back to this side and left him here. Still they did not leave off their intimacy. Now and then she would also spirit him away for two or three months at a time. And now this man is acting as a *jan*<sup>19</sup> or witch-finder.

So there this is ended.

## 10. THE STORY OF A SANTAL AND A JACKAL<sup>1</sup> ,

ONCE upon a time in the old days, people tell, a man had gone to a market place<sup>2</sup> to buy bullocks. He intended to buy a pair<sup>3</sup> at once. From early in the day he had been bargaining about bullocks; but as they could not reach an agreement as to the price, he was unable to buy a pair. That is to say, he had not enough for the price asked, his money was not

menjoñ kana, Paseñ in namkatkinge. Ado ona bhorsate tangi nam tarāk nam aṇḍur maṇḍure tahēyena.

Ado belae ñele kan doe koceyen, kubelayen khangeye menkeṭa, Barea do ohoñ darelea. Acha, hec akan sik miṭṭaṇ gan tanak in kiriñ torakaegae. Arhō jāhā hilok in hijuka, na honec unreñ kiriñ idiyea.

Ado kathae, belae jhol pholaok kan jokhen miṭṭaṇ ḍaṅgrae kiriñkedeae. Ar se oraḥ hō saṅgiñ nōkretaegae. Khange aguye aguyetege dhere nuhum nindayena. Khangeye hudis baraketa, en kathae, Teheñ do ohoñ tiok darelea oraḥ do, ar noa ninda ḍaṅgra salak calak do bañ ṭhika, kombroko memena. Jāhāge jāhā daporen, teheñ do noterege jāhāe oraḥreñ gitiē aṅgalenge. Gapa setak doñ sotoḥ idiyea. Onka ac monre buj barawante miṭṭen atoc namkeṭa. Ado ona ato sene, acurena. Ar seye ac eskargea, soṅgetenko do banukkotaē. Ado atoteye rakapente gitiē ṭhāiye kuli barayetkōa. Ado ac eskar ma gitiē ṭhāiko araḥae kange, ḍaṅgra salakge tho bako araḥeta. Ado onka kuli kuliteye sen idik kana.

Ado khange miṭṭen tili oraḥe namkeṭa. Ado raca sente boḷoyenteye kuliketkōa, Henda baba ho, noakore gitiē ṭhāikope araḥkea?

Ado onkoko menkeṭa, Tin horape?

Ado menkeṭa, In eskargeaṇ ar miṭṭaṇ ḍaṅgra menaetiña. Teheṅge noa haṭṭia khon in kiriñ aguyede kana.

Adoko kulikedeae, Okaren kanam?

Ado laiatkōa, bañma, In do Sohodoḥo Jhāriaren kanañ. Adoñ nindayente teheñ do noakore gitiē aṅgak in menjoñ kana.

Adoko metadea, Besge, dela note hijukme, ḍaṅgra hō agu darayetam. Ar nōkōe noa oraḥre ghanile biṭ akata, ona ghani khuṇṭire ḍaṅgra do tolkaetam, ar am do noa piṇḍare gitiēme, nonḍe ṭhāile araḥam kana.

Ado sari uni ḍaṅgra do ghani khuṇṭireye tolkadetaē, ar ac do ona piṇḍate rakapente oṇḍeye durupena. Ado onko tili do tinre con budi barakette celahre kaṇe doḥo lohokata. Ado kedokko jom barakate doḥo jaega barayena. Ado tinre nui koṛa do khube japitkeṭa, unre onko tili do ona lohok akat kaṇete nuiye kiriñ agu akade ḍaṅgra do goṭako lasrao thopramkedeae. Arko nonkaye kan, ona sud uni koṛa do bae baḍaejoñ kana.

Ado setaken khan, tili do akoren ghani ḍaṅgra hako pakoko rara agu gotkedeae. Ado onkoren ḍaṅgra do kaṇe jom paṛkau se bañ? Ado onako thopram akade kaṇe baste nui

<sup>1</sup> In the Santal folk-tales the jackal - *Canis aureus* - plays the role in other countries generally attributed to the fox. The Indian fox is very seldom mentioned. The jackal is generally described as astute, sagacious and sharp, sometimes, but by no means always, living by his wits. He often represents the sound common-sense and justice, like in this story.

<sup>2</sup> A good deal of the everyday business of the people is transacted at market-places, found fairly well spread over the country. Here people bring what they may wish to sell, and here they buy the common necessities, which they do not buy in the shops. Many shopkeepers have their own stalls at these places, the sellers mostly

sufficient. Still he was thinking by himself: "Perhaps I might find a pair." So in this hope he remained there kicking his heels and waiting, loafing about.

Then he looked up at the sun, the sun was far down, and as the time was getting late, he said to himself: "I shall not be able to buy a pair. All right, since I have come here, I must try and buy one anyhow and take it with me. Afterwards some day I may come here again, then I may buy another one."

Then just after sunset, while the rays of the sun were bright over the horizon, he bought a bullock. Now it should be noted that his home was rather far off, and as he was taking the bullock along, it became dusk and he was benighted. Then he thought and thought and said to himself: "I shall certainly not be able to reach home to-day, and to go along with a bullock now at night is not good; people may call you a thief. Be that as it may, to-day I shall pass the night in somebody or other's house hereabouts<sup>1</sup>. To-morrow morning I shall take him along." Having come to this conclusion in his own mind he found a village and turned aside there. Now you know, he was alone, companions he had none. Having gone up to the village he asked people there for a place to lie down in. But while they were willing to let him have a place to lie in, they would not let him have a place for the bullock also. So he went along, asking and asking for a place.

At last he reached a house belonging to a *tili*<sup>5</sup>, and entering their court-yard he asked them: "I say, good people, might you be willing to let us have a place to lie down in here somewhere?"

"How many are you?" they asked.

"Only myself," he replied, "and I have a bullock, that I have bought to-day at the market and am bringing along with me."

"Where do you belong to?" they asked him.

"I," he told them, "I am from Sohodohe Jharia. As I have been benighted, I intend to stay the night somewhere here until morning."

"All right," they said, "come this way, take your bullock also along with you. Look, here in this house we have fixed the oil-press<sup>6</sup>; tie your bullock to the oil-press pole, and you lie down in the verandah here; we are letting you have a place here."

He then tied his bullock to the oil-press pole, and he himself stepped up to the verandah and sat down there. Now those *tilis* had in the meantime concocted a plan and steeped some oilcake in a cooking-pot<sup>7</sup>. They had their evening meal and lay down to sleep; but when the young man was fast asleep, those *tilis* took the oilcake they had steeped in water and daubed the bullock that this man had brought with him all over with it. Of course, the young man was ignorant of their doing this.

When it became morning, the *tilis* quickly loosed their oil-press bullock and brought him. Now, you know, their bullock was accustomed to eat oilcake, and at the smell of the

daŋgra dɔ curmare jal ocok kana. Ona nɛlte onko tili dɔ aɖi baɾic gulko ɛhɔpkɛta. Mɛnet-ako, baɳma, Aleren ɣhani daŋgra dɔe busakɛntalea. Adɔ inɔ oɖok duarkoren hɔɣ hɔhɔ aɣukɛtkoteko udukatkoa, Ma ho, nɛletalepe, teheɳ dɔ aleren ɣhani daŋgrae busakɛntaletɛye jal cikɛrede kana. Eɖak hɔrren daŋgra khan, nonka dɔ ɔhɔe jallea.

Adɔ uni kiriɳ aɣu akade hɔɣ uni daŋgrae laga idiyede khan, baɳgeko idi ocoae kana. Adɔ onko jarwa akan atoren hɔɣe bicar ocoyetko khan, onko hɔko metae kana, Holare nui daŋgra cedak bam udukatlea? Onate amren dɔ okorle sabud oco dareae kana? Adɔ onka lekate onko ato hɔɣ hɔko bhagaokedeae.

Adɔe metatkoa, Acha besge, bape idi ocoan kan khan, cɛt in mɛnkea? Hape tobe, niɔ aɖe paseren hɔɣ aɣukateɳ bicar gela ocokoa. Adɔ judi onko hɔ nonka ape leakageko bicar-kɛta mɛnkhan, tobe nui daŋgra dɔ tilirengɛye hoyoka.

Adoko metadea, Acha besge, dɔ aɣukom.

Adɔ enka mɛnkate aɖi khond rondjoɳ tuluɛ calak kana. Adɔ anari hɔɣ se baɳ? Adɔ auriɣe begor horte bir birtɛye calak kana. Adɔ un jokheɳge, kathae, miftɛɳ hapuk dɔe uɖau toɖ goɖena. Adɔ uni hɔɣe mɛn goɖkɛta, Ohre! dataramiɳ namlede tahɛkana, ɖar goɖkɛtae.

Adɔ uni hapuke mɛn goɖkɛta, Cedakem nam barayedih kana?

Adɔ uni hɔɣe mɛnkɛta, Miftan bicar ocomea mɛnte am tɛhengeɳ heɛ akana.

Adɔ hapuke mɛnkɛta, Cɛt bicar?

Adɔ oɣ pheɖ jotɔe laideae. Khange uni hapuk dɔe mɛn goɖkɛta, Ho, noa bicar dɔ algagea. Do arhɔ miɖ hɔɣ namkom, jemɔn inko roɣ goɣoan.

Adɔ uni hɔɣe mɛnkɛta, Acha besge, nam aɣukoan; mɛnkhan nɛnde bare tahɛ hatarokme.

Adɔ uniye mɛnkɛta, Acha, tobe khan nonkatege nahak hijukme.

sitting or squatting on the ground under small roofs which give shadow and protection against rain, or under some large tree or the like. There are a few market-places where cattle are bought and sold regularly. The markets are held on fixed days, once or twice weekly, and are visited by lots of people, who do not only come to buy or sell, but also just to meet other people, see friends and so on. They are an indispensable part of the everyday life of the villagers. Here many social matters are taken in hand. Here things are made known, proclamations and announcements are made with beating of drums.

<sup>3</sup> It might be noted, that the Santals and all their neighbours use bullocks or buffaloes for ploughing and carting, and never one, always a pair at the time.

<sup>4</sup> Except in the large bazars, inns or what corresponds to inns are not met with. It is a very common custom to let strangers sleep somewhere round the house, but not inside. Care is shown that caste is not broken and that the women are not disturbed. As a rule people will try to find somebody of their own caste or race to pass the night with.

<sup>5</sup> The oil presser is called *tilli* by the Santals, from *tel*; this caste is of Hindu origin. Oil is pressed out of a large number of different kinds of seed.

<sup>6</sup> The oil-press used by the ordinary country *tilli* is a contrivance fixed in the ground, of wood, with a large bowl at the top. The seed is steamed before being put in the bowl, and the oil is pressed out by a piece of wood being moved round along the inside of the bowl. The piece of wood is fastened to a pole, to which the bullock is yoked. The work is done by the bullock walking round and round, the *tilli* often sitting on the pole. The Santals also press oil of seeds. They have two kinds of presses, one a more primitive one, consisting of a large

oilcake which they had smeared on the 'other bullock he started licking this incessantly. When they saw this, these tili commenced to make a tremendous uproar, calling out: "Our oil-press bullock has given birth to a bullock." Thereupon they called their nearest neighbours and showed it to them: "Look, look, our oil-press bullock has given birth to a bullock to-day; he is now licking it smooth. If it were another's bullock, he would never lick him in this way."

When the man who had bought and brought the bullock tried to drive him away with him, they would not let him do so, and when he asked the village people that had come together to judge between them, they also said to him: "Why did you not show this bullock to us yesterday? As you did not, how can we prove that he is yours?" In this way these village people also went against him.

"Very well," he said to them, "if you will not let me take him away, what can I say? Wait then, I shall bring some people from the neighbourhood and get them to judge. If they also should judge as you have done, then this bullock shall belong to the tili."

"All right," they said, "do bring them."

With this purpose he went off thinking and speculating. Now you remember, he was a stranger. So he went along at random through the forest without following any way. Then a night-jar<sup>8</sup> all at once flew out. "What a pity," the man said, "I met a councillor, but he disappeared."

The night-jar then spoke: "Why are you looking for me?"

"I have come to you," the man said, "to ask you to judge in a certain case."

"What case?" the night-jar asked.

The man then told everything from the very beginning. "Oh," the night-jar said, "that is an easy case. Please get hold of another one, some one or other, that he may assist me."

"All right," the man answered, "I shall fetch some one; but please, you remain here in the meantime."

"Very well," the bird replied, "so just come this way."

stone, into which a ring and channel are cut to let the oil flow out. This stone is put at the foot of a large tree, in which a hole is cut. In this hole a large pole is put, and the pressing is done by people sitting on the pole. The other, more common press consists of two heavy pieces of wood placed one above the other on two poles, in such a way that the lower piece is fairly fixed, while the upper one is easily moved up and down on the poles, which run through holes made in the two pieces of wood, one near each end. The steamed oil-seed is put on the lower piece in a cover made for the occasion of some kind of straw, whereupon the upper piece is pressed down with the help of a rope wound round the two big pieces of wood. The lower piece has a ring cut with a small channel for the oil to run out through. The bundle with the steamed seed is placed just above this cut out ring.

<sup>7</sup> A small earthenware pot with a wide opening, generally used for cooking most other things of food than rice.

<sup>8</sup> The *Caprimulgus Monticolus*, a fairly common bird in the Santal country. The Santal name is onomatopoeic, from the call of the bird.

Ado uni hōr onḍe khone calak kana. Ado calak calakte mittan toyoe nam gotkedeā. Ado mēn gotketa, Hape ho, teṅgolenme.

Khange toyoe teṅgoyena, ado metae kana, Cedakem hōhōaṅ kana?

Ado metadea, Amgeṅ nam barayetmea mittēn bicar ocome lagat.

Ado uniye mēnketa, Cet lekan bicar?

Ado joto or pheḍe laiadea. Ado toyoe mēnketa, Ho, noa bicar do algagea, mēnkhan mit hōr sōṅgeaṅme.

Ado uni hōre mēnketa, Ho, am sōṅgeam lagat, do mit hōr in nam akadea. Delaṅ uni thengeṅ idilemge.

Ado bana hōre jarwaketkinte qtohoḥ khon mucaṭ hābié joto katha ar cet leka phorphundikate uni hōren ḍaṅgrako aṭok akadea, onako mit mitte sanam kathae lai cabawatkina. Khange unkin do bana hōr dōmkin em gotketa. Mēn gotketakin, Delabon idilinme. Khan-geye aguketkina. Ado barge latarko tiokket khan, onḍe do thora patar potar muṇḍugea. Ado toyoe mēnketa, Do nonḍege hōhō agukom. Atore do seta adiko gegera, onṭe do qhōlin senlena.

Ado uni hōre mēnketa, Acha, nonḍegeṅ hōhō agukoa. Ado senente sariye hōhō aguketkoa. Ado bako nel nametkinteko mēneta, Okorkotam pōc? Auriḡem aguyetbona se ceta?

Ado un jōkhen unkin dōkin oḍok gotena. Ado mēn gotketa, Nukintin inren pōc do. Ado dhiri gaṇḍoe bel bara gotatkina. Adoko durup jarwayente cetko cōn emanteakko galmarao kana. Un jōkhen toyo doe kuḍbur akana ar hapuk doe japiṭ akata. Khange onko atoren mōrē hōr do aḍi garteko ror gotketa, Okorkotam ho? Cet lekan pōc? Unkin makin japiṭjoṅ kan! Nukin ki kin bicarkea? Qhōkin dhej darelea.

Ado un jōkhenge, kathae, bana hōrge aḍi gartekin beṅgeṭ rakap gotketa. Khange toyoe ror gotketa, Cet cet cetkope galmaraoketa?

Ado noko hōrko mēn gotketa, Aben do eṅgate japiṭjoṅben arben cet cedok kana.

Ado toyoe mēn gotketa, E ho, cet cōn baṅ, jutgeṅ kukmū gotketa. Ona do nonka leka kana, baṅma, mittan darhare seṅgel lagaoena ar onare aḍi utaṭ hakoko lo goḍ akana, ado onkoge in do curemar in jojom kan. Nonkaṅ kukmūketa. Ado bhala noa do cet lekan kukmū kana, ar noa reak bhēd do cet hoekoka? Deṣe bhala ape mōrē hōr laiaṅtabonpe.

Adoko mēn gotketa, Kukmū reak ṭhikana banukan. Oka do auri hō kukmūkgea. Arhō oḷa doko mēn goteta, Dakre ki seṅgel lagaokoka? Noa do qhoge hoe darelēna. Dakte ma seṅgelge iṭijok kan, cekate lōka? Noa do kōkhonoge qhō hoelēna.

Ado toyo ar hapuk bana hōrkin mēn gotketa, Acha besge. Adolin kuliyetpea, nui pera hōrak do cetpe bicarketa? Laialin kanae, baṅma, Haṭ khon ḍaṅgraṅ kiring agu akadea, ado nindayente noa atoren phalna tili oṭakreṅ gitic kana. Ado setaken khan, ḍaṅgra do bako

The man then went on his way. As he was walking along he met a jackal and called out to him: "Wait, please, stay a moment."

The jackal stood still and said: "Why are you calling out to me?"

"I am searching for you," the man replied, "to ask you to judge in a case."

"What kind of a case?" the jackal asked.

Then he told him everything from the very beginning, and the jackal said: "Oh, that is an easy matter; but you must get some one to be with me."

"Oh, I have got one to be with you," the man said, "come along, and I shall take you to him at once."

Having got both of them in one place he told them everything from beginning to end, all of it, what he had done, and how those people by means of tricks had kept his bullock back. Then both of them cheered him up. "Come along," they said, "take us there." The man took them with him. When they reached a little below the field on which the houses were standing — there was some scrubby jungle here —, the jackal said: "Do call them here. In the village the dogs bite; we shall certainly not go there."

"Very well," the man replied, "I shall go and call them here." So he went, called the people and brought them; but as they did not see anybody, they said: "Why, where are your arbitrators? Have you brought us here to make fun of us, or how?"

At that moment those two came out, and the man said: "These two are my arbitrators," whereupon he put stones before those two to sit on. When they had all sat down together, they were talking on different subjects, this, that and the other. During this the jackal was sitting with his head bent down, and the night-jar was asleep. The village councillors then called out loudly: "Why, where are your ones? What kind of arbitrators! These two, well, they are sleeping. These two! what! should these judge? They will never be able to manage it."

At that moment both of them suddenly looked up with a start. "What, what, what?" the jackal called out, "what are you talking?"

Then those people said: "You two sleep on, then you will become what-what-what."

"I say, sirs," the jackal spoke, "whatever it was, I had a wonderful dream; it was this way: a waterpool had caught fire, and an immense number of fish had been burnt to death in that pool, and I was eating those as fast as I could. This is what I was dreaming. I wonder what kind of a dream this is, and what its meaning might be. Please, you high village council, tell me and all of us, what the meaning is."

"There is no certainty about dreams," they replied; "sometimes dreams also are utter nonsense." Again others of them said: "Have you ever heard that water catches fire? It is impossible that such things should happen. Fire is, of course, quenched by water; how should water burn? Such a thing could never happen at all."

Then the jackal and the night-jar said, both of them at the same time: "Very well. Then we ask you: what have you judged in this our friend's case? He tells us: I had



idi ocoan kana. Menetako, Nui do aleren ghani dangrageye busak akadea. Amren do bale nel akadea. Ado ape atoren hor noa reak cetpe bicarkettabona? Ona laianpe. Ar bujpe, nui do etak disomren hor kanae. Mitfen kaj bastete nondeye heclena, ar nuiren enga apa do nonde banukkotaea. Onate nokoe alin bir janware rak akawatlina. Ar bujhaupe, herel hopon huyate oka bam darana? Kaj hoelen khan, gao gon dabo darangea. Pasge unre amak ho nonka hoyoktam. Tobe cetem cekaea? Ado mase laipe, cet lekape bicarketa? Dangra do okoepe digraie kana?

Ado sanam horko men gotketa, Tiliren ghani dangrae busak akadete unigeye namea.

Ado toyoe menketa, Besge. Ado ghani dangrae busak akade, onage sanam horpe patiau akana so han?

Ado adi garte sanam horko men gotketa, Patiau akangeale.

Ado toyoe menketa, Besge. Ar noa inin menlet, hanma, darha dakre sengel lagao akante hakoko lo goena. Ado noape patiau kana so han?

Adoko menketa, Bale patiau kana, ente dakre sengel do oho lagao darelana.

Khange uni hapuk doe ruhet gotketa, Lelha mara hor! ape leka lelha do duniare ho banukkoa. Kokhono ki dangra busagokpe nel akawana? Gaike busagoka, dangra do tisre ho hankeko busagoka. Mase ente udukanpe oka horteko busagok kana. Acha besge, delabon uni dangrage udukanpe, hanma, noa horteye busak akadea. Noa do auriahte nui hanndikate rejepe men akata.

Ado bana horte bogetekin ruhetkekoa. Arkin metako kana, Dini nitge dangra nonde agu gotkaetaepe, ar bankhan oka horte uni dangrae busak akadea, onage udukalinpe.

Khange cap cup sanam horko thir utarena, mit katha ho bako ror dareata. Khange nokokin ror lajaoketko khan do, ato horte uni tilige ruhetko ruhetkedeae so, andha dhundko ruhetkedeae. Ado ona baysi thenge dangrako agukadetaea, ar uni tili do moro taka hoko phurankedeae. Ado one onkate nui horak dokin bicarkettaea, bankhanko atlede tahokana. Ado ene nia katha hon sesketa.

<sup>9</sup> Lit. the five. A Santal village has five officials. It may possibly be due to this fact that the village council is called "the five". It is, however, more likely that the Santals have taken the thing itself as the name over from the Hindus. All ordinary village and social questions are taken before the five. The village panchayat has now-a-days very little power left, a fact which probably now everybody more or less deplures. Every one who is interested is allowed to sit in the village council; women are allowed to be present as witnesses, complainants or defendants, and may also sometimes be heard to give vent to their opinions. A person who introduces a case is permitted to bring along any outsider who may be deemed capable of looking after his interests.

<sup>10</sup> Men only are supposed to have anything to do in the ordinary way outside their villages. Women are not thought fit to travel round on business in the country.

<sup>11</sup> The village council has no power or opportunity to inflict other punishment than what they can effectuate on the spot. Among the Santals the party found at fault generally has to give compensation, and further to pay

bought and brought a bullock from the market. Then, as I was benighted, I passed the night in such and such a tili's house. When it became morning, they would not let me take the bullock away. They said: This one our oil-press bullock has given birth to. We have not seen your bullock. Then how did you village people judge in this our case? Tell me that. And please understand, this man is from another part of the country. He came here to do some business; his parents are not here. Therefore he has appealed to us two forest animals, as you see. Understand, being men<sup>10</sup> will you not now and then go travelling? When business calls, we go round to villages and hamlets. In such circumstances perhaps the same might happen to you also; then what would you do? So please tell how you passed judgement. To whom did you decree the bullock?"

Then all of them spoke out: "The tili's bullock has given birth to this one, so he will have it."

"Very well," the jackal said. "The oil-press bullock has given birth to this you all of you believe this?"

Then all of them said in a loud voice: "That is our belief."

"Very well," the jackal again said; "now I said, water in a water pool had caught fire and the fishes were burnt to death. Do you believe this or not?"

"We do not believe it," they answered, "because water will never catch fire."

Then the night-jar started scolding: "You imbecile fools. Fools like you are not to be found anywhere in the whole inhabited world. Have you ever at any time seen a bullock give birth to anything? Cows do that, but bullocks never at all. Otherwise please show me which way they give birth to anything? Very well then, come along, show me this bullock and how he has given birth to this other bullock. It is all false, and you have intended to defraud and rob this man."

Thereupon both of them gave all of them a good scolding, and said: "Come with him, bring the bullock here now this instant; otherwise show us, which way this bullock has given birth to another."

Then they all became dumbfounded and silent; they were unable to utter a single word. When these two had made the village people ashamed by their speaking, they in their turn started scolding the tili, they scolded him something awful. Thereupon they had that bullock brought to the council; they also fined the tili five rupees<sup>11</sup>. In this way they judged the case of this man; otherwise they would have let him lose everything.

So now there, I have finished this story also.

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a fine, which may be as little as five sika, i. e., five four-anna pieces, or 1 1/4 rupee, about 1 sh. 8d., or the double of this. It is seldom more. Both parties have to give a sum to the council, generally five or ten sika, to be spent on food or drink. Here it is a fine of five rupees, or 6 sh. 8d.









